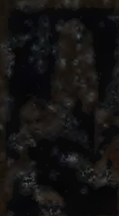


School of Theology at Claremont



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# YOUNG AND THE NEW AMERICA



G. BROMLEY OXNAM



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**YOUTH AND THE  
NEW AMERICA**

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# THE YOUTH AND THE NEW AMERICA

By  
G. BROWN OXLEY



COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
1911  
MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR 1911  
NEW YORK

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G. BROMLEY OXNAM



COUNCIL OF WOMEN FOR HOME MISSIONS  
AND  
MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT  
NEW YORK



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**T**HE REVEREND G. BROMLEY OXNAM was born in California and attended the public schools of Los Angeles. He was graduated from the University of Southern California in 1913 and from the Boston University School of Theology in 1915 where he later returned for post-graduate study. He also did post-graduate work in Harvard University and in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1925 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the College of the Pacific.

After a brief pastorate in Poplar, California, Doctor Oxnam was appointed pastor of the Church of All Nations, Los Angeles, in 1917, and at the same time served as Executive Secretary of the Los Angeles Missionary and Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1927 Doctor Oxnam was made professor of Practical Theology and City Church in the Boston University School of Theology, and in the spring of 1928 he was elected president of De Pauw University.

Doctor Oxnam has traveled widely in Japan, China, India, and Europe, studying industrial and social conditions. He is the author of numerous articles on international and industrial themes and of *The Mexican in Los Angeles*, *Russian Impressions*, and *The Social Principles of Jesus*.

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO THE

ALL NATIONS BOYS CLUB

AND TO

ROBERT BROWN BUSH

AND

CHARLES BROWN VOORHIS

WHOSE GENEROUS INTEREST IN

YOUTH IS HELPING TO CREATE

A NEW AMERICA

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G. BROMLEY OXNAM.

Boston

May, 1928



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## INTRODUCTION

“SO your music finds inspiration in America?”  
“Yes—in the seething of the crucible.”

Vera Revendall, a young noblewoman, a refugee from the cruel oppression of the Czar, asks the question; and David Quizano, a youthful immigrant, possessing at once the soul of a musician and the heart of an American, answers. Their story is told in Israel Zangwill's superb play, “The Melting Pot.” David is in the midst of writing a beautiful composition which he plans to call “The American Symphony.” He tells Vera his music finds inspiration in the crucible.

“The crucible?” she questions. “I don't understand.”

His answer burst forth like the very music of his soul: “Not understand that America is God's crucible, the great melting pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming! Here you stand, good folk, think I, when I see them at Ellis Island, here you stand in your fifty groups, with your fifty languages and histories, and your fifty blood hatreds and rivalries. But you won't be long like

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that, brothers, for these are the fires of God you've come to—these are the fires of God. A fig for your feuds and vendettas! Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians—into the crucible with you all! God is making the American."

As the play closes, Zangwill pictures David and Vera looking down upon New York harbor just after a storm. The sun is setting. David beholds the glowing reds and the burnished yellows—the fires of God round the crucible. "There she lies, the great melting pot—listen! Can't you hear the roaring and the bubbling? There gapes her mouth—the harbor where a thousand mammoth feeders come from the ends of the world to pour in their human freight. Ah, what a stirring and a seething! Celt and Latin, Slav and Teuton, Greek and Syrian, black and yellow—"

And Vera, who had hated the Jew with Russian hatred, looks into the face of David, himself a Jew, and continues the sentence, "Jew and Gentile—"

David catches it up again, "Yes, east and west, and north and south, the palm and the pine, the pole and the equator, the crescent and the cross—how the great Alchemist melts and fuses them with his purging flame! Here shall they all unite to build the republic of man and the Kingdom of God. Ah, Vera, what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem where all

## INTRODUCTION

nations and races come to worship and look back, compared with the glory of America where all races and nations come to labor and look forward!"<sup>1</sup>

David Quizano faced one great problem, that of fusing the races into the American. Present-day Americans face many problems of equal significance and challenge.

First there is the international problem. Youth must think through this crucial issue. Upon youth rests the duty of abolishing war, setting up world law and order, and bringing in the reign of peace and good will.

Second there is the industrial problem. Youth must face the gigantic task of permeating industry with the democratic spirit, providing for the production of goods essential to physical well-being, and for the spirit essential to soul development. In addition he must face the perplexing task of substituting for the acquisitive spirit in the work life of man the motive of unselfish service.

Third there is the racial problem. He must answer the terrible question raised by some biologists and feared by not a few sociologists, namely, are the white races to wage war with the colored races? He must recall that there are two colored people for every white person, if the yellow, black, brown and

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<sup>1</sup> *The Melting Pot*. Israel Zangwill. Macmillan Company New York. Quoted by permission.



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red are added together. He must show us the way wherein, as brothers, regardless of color, we can face this problem, and in the spirit of brotherhood work it out, rather than in the spirit of hatred fight it out.

Underlying each one of these problems, and in a sense constituting in itself a greater problem, is the question: Is it possible for man, through the process of education, to create a moral will determined to use our marvelous scientific advance for the development and enrichment of personality? Or will we develop into a people so self-centered that scientific advance will be prostituted to self-interest, thus leading us into conflict and eventual destruction of the race? This is basically a spiritual problem. American youth lives in the richest, the freest, and in many ways the greatest land in the world. It is for this young life to determine whether the United States, in the hour of world need, shall pass by on the other side, as did the priest and the Levite, or whether in this tragic moment it shall become a Good Samaritan among the nations, binding up the wounds of the world, and in cooperation with other lands seek to bring to men the peace, justice, and love so sorely needed. Here is a missionary task comparable to that faced by the early church, one that calls for the practice of Christian ideals at home and the sharing of them abroad.

## I

### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN

“**T**HERE goes an American!”

I turned quickly in answer to my companion's exclamation. We were walking down the river front in Calcutta, India. Across the street a young man was striding along, whistling a popular American air. He was of athletic build, his face clean-shaven, his clothes well-fitting; his rapid, sure stride suggested self-mastery. He impressed me as good-natured, capable of taking care of himself, in a word, an individualist. I knew he was an American, but just for the fun of it I asked my companion, “How do you know he is an American?”

“Search me,” he replied, “but I'll bet he is.”

I have wondered many times since whether, if I were asked to state definitely the characteristics of an American, I could do it. Everyone knows there is no American racial type. During the World War one of the most striking posters was entitled “Americans All”; it bore the names of men from several lands and of different races. From the beginning our country has been peopled by folk of many races. In the colonial days we had the English, the Dutch, the

## YOUTH AND THE NEW AMERICA

French, the German, the Spanish and others. In America today, rightfully claiming the name of American, are people whose skin is black, yellow, red, brown and white.

In addition to the millions whose ancestors came from lands across the seas, the 1920 census revealed the fact that there were then 13,920,692 foreign-born within our borders. Their children will be Americans in fact. Thus the American type is ever changing, owing to the influx of other stocks.

Our complexity is seen in the very name America. It was Martin Waldseemuller, a German professor teaching in a French college at St. Die, who, upon reading the letters of Americus Vespucci, wrote in 1507 with reference to a world map he was editing: "Another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vespucci. I do not see what fairly hinders us from calling it Amerigo or America, viz., the land of Americus." This map was lost for centuries and many scholars doubted its existence, but it was found in 1901 by an Austrian professor in a castle in Württemberg. Professor D. S. Muzzey, referring to the incident in his *American History*, writes: "So it came about that this continent was named by an obscure German professor in a French college for an Italian navigator in the service of the king of Portugal."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *American History*. D. S. Muzzey. Ginn and Company, Boston. 1925. Quoted by permission.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AMERICAN

Any attempt to state our characteristics in view of our mixed population, varied traditions, and dissimilar ideals, is certain to be inadequate and very likely inaccurate. However, in the light of our history, general characteristics stand out with a certain definiteness.

### THE AMERICAN A PIONEER

“The Covered Wagon” symbolizes the first striking characteristic of the American. The men and women who laid the foundations of the American republic were pioneers. Their forebears had crossed the stormy Atlantic in sailing ships, venturing in search of religious liberty, and had endured terrible hardship and faced constant peril.

A mere handful of brave folk landed upon the eastern seaboard. They pressed westward, ever westward, over the Appalachians, across the plains of the Middle West, into the fastnesses of the Rockies, until at last the blue waters of the Pacific marked the far-flung boundary of the great republic. It is a miracle story, replete with scenes of forest penetration, river crossing, storm battling, mountain scaling, and settlement building, together with countless revelations of indomitable character, capacity to sacrifice, and willingness to toil.

Walt Whitman knew the heart of America and gave it forth in his song, “Pioneers, O Pioneers!”

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Have the elder races halted?

Do they droop and end their lesson, wearied over there  
beyond the seas?

We take up the task eternal, and the burden and the lesson,  
Pioneers! O Pioneers!

All the past we leave behind,

We debouch upon a newer mightier world, varied world,  
Fresh and strong the world we seize, world of labor and  
the march,

Pioneers! O Pioneers!

We detachments steady throwing,

Down the edges, through the passes, up the mountains  
steep,

Conquering, holding, daring, venturing as we go the  
unknown ways,

Pioneers! O Pioneers!

We primeval forests felling,

We the rivers stemming, vexing we and piercing deep  
the mines within,

We the surface broad surveying, we the virgin soil  
upheaving,

Pioneers! O Pioneers!

Whitman looked at the pioneers of that past generation and called them in his enthusiasm a "resistless, restless race." What evidences of that kind of pioneering spirit do we see in American life today? In



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the part of America where you live, what are some of the problems that call for modern pioneers?

### THE AMERICAN A DEMOCRAT

The American is characterized, too, by an insistent seeking after democracy. It was he who flung into world thought a concept that was to sweep around the globe and to lift mankind to higher living and greater dignity. The Declaration of Independence declares without equivocation that the Creator has endowed men with certain "inalienable rights." Thomas Jefferson, writing upon the principles of American government, put as the very first statement, "Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political."

Into the political literature of our land has gone this conception of democracy. Charles Sumner, referring to the Constitution of Massachusetts, and speaking in the splendid periods of the oratory of yesterday, declared, "He may be poor, humble, or black; he may be of Caucasian, Jewish, Indian or Ethiopian race; he may be of French, German, English, or Irish extraction; but before the Constitution of Massachusetts all the distinctions disappear. He is not poor, weak, humble or black, nor is he Caucasian, Jewish, Indian or Ethiopian, nor is he French, German, English, or Irish. He is a man, the equal of his fellow-men."

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"John Brown's Body" lies in the grave but his spirit marches on. What was meant by that spirit? It was the spirit of the democrat. Just before his execution Brown rose in the court-room to state, "I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. Now if it be deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, I submit. So let it be done." Whatever we may think of Brown's methods, democratic utterance of this type finds a responsive chord in the American heart. It was left for one great American to voice the very essence of the American democratic nature, when at Gettysburg the immortal Lincoln dedicated the American people to the high proposition "that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." Whatever may have been the real objects of the terrible World War, it was the idealistic statement that it was a war "to make the world safe for democracy," that caught the imagination of Americans and flung us into the hellish trenches of France and Flanders.

Which is safer, the vesting of full power in the intelligent or able, or basing the right to govern upon the consent of the governed? Is it wise to give to the people the right of promoting legislation through what is known as the initiative, the right

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to review legislation through what is known as the referendum, the right to remove men from office through what is known as the recall? If there be danger in such measures, is it as great as the danger of denying the people these rights, and of witnessing a representative supposedly elected by the people, but often put in office by some great corporation or power trust and subservient to them, voting in the interest of groups instead of for the entire people?

### THE AMERICAN A LOVER OF LIBERTY

There is no word more precious to the American than liberty. Just as the "covered wagon" symbolizes his pioneering spirit, and the Declaration of Independence his democracy, so the Liberty Bell is emblematic of a third characteristic. When the bell was recast in 1753 it bore the inscription, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." The men who founded Jamestown sought political liberty. The Pilgrims aboard the Mayflower sought religious liberty. When they left Delft Haven, John Robinson led the procession from the church to the harbor, reading aloud from the open Bible: "Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house unto the land I will show thee, and I will make of thee a great nation and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed."

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Think for a moment of that dramatic hour in March, 1775, when Patrick Henry, seeing the inevitability of conflict and believing America would be invincible because "armed in the holy cause of liberty," hurled forth his unconditional demand, "Give me liberty or give me death." Liberty was the watchword of the American Revolution. One of the most cherished symbols of our American spirit is Faneuil Hall in Boston, known throughout the nation as "Cradle of Liberty." The word liberty is inscribed upon our coinage. We possess a Statue of Liberty given to us by people who have sung of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." It is interesting to note that there is inscribed on the pedestal of this statue the following lines, written by Emma Lazarus, a Jewess:

Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore—  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me—  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

When the Constitution was drafted and the framers neglected to write into it certain guarantees of liberty, a Bill of Rights was added in the form of ten amendments. The very first of the amendments reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free

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exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." We regard these constitutional rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage as the liberties for which our fathers died. We then face the questions, how are their sons maintaining these liberties? In maintaining them, how shall we distinguish between liberty and license? In dealing with free speech, for example, is this a fair working principle: the government must strike a balance between the search for truth and the common good, with a tendency to favor the former. Should we attack the reactionary forces that seek to limit free discussion, whether in college, church, or forum? Ought we to stand for the right of the reactionary to state this view? In how far has liberty been denied to the Negro, the Indian, or to any other group or class?

### THE AMERICAN AN INDIVIDUALIST

"I am an American individualist," writes Herbert Hoover in his thought-provoking book entitled *American Individualism*. Here he voiced in five words another American trait. The American is an individualist. Mr. Hoover admits that American individualism has at times run riot, but he argues that we have tempered our conception of individualism



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with a constant insistence upon equality of opportunity. "It is not the individualism of other countries for which I would speak," he writes, "but the individualism of America. Our individualism differs from all others because it embraces these great ideals: that while we build society upon the attainment of the individual, we shall safeguard to every individual an equality of opportunity to take that position in the community to which his intelligence, character, ability, and ambition entitle him; that we keep the social solution free from frozen strata of classes; that we shall stimulate the effort of each individual to achievement; that through an enlarging sense of responsibility and understanding we shall assist him to this attainment; while he in turn must stand up to the emery wheel of competition."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Hoover knows that this characteristic of the American, unless curbed by certain social restrictions, is likely to run rampant, and that the strong and dominant may become kinsmen of the predatory animals, since he states: "It is where dominant private property is assembled in the hands of the groups who control the state that the individual begins to feel capital as an oppressor." He adds, "To curb the forces in business which would destroy

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<sup>1</sup> *American Individualism*. Herbert Hoover. Doubleday, Doran and Company, Garden City, N. Y. 1922. Quoted by permission.

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equality of spirit, and yet maintain the initiative and creative faculties of our people, are the twin objects we must attain."

Individualism is a two-edged sword. It has proved itself in America both asset and liability. But it is a national characteristic. Do we possess sufficient individualism to vote no when the rest of the body votes yes? Can you cite outstanding examples in which men have stood for convictions when the social group to which they belonged laughed them to scorn? In how far has equality of opportunity been achieved in America? Is it possible to remove the self-interest factor in individualism, and at the same time call forth the creative abilities of men? What is the most effective method of bringing to play upon the dangerous element lurking in American individualism that other force which transformed Zachæus?

### THE AMERICAN A BELIEVER IN UNION

Have we ever taken the trouble to find out what is meant by "E Pluribus Unum," inscribed upon many of our coins? It suggests another characteristic of the American. It means literally, "Out of many, one." The early American knew something of the national hatreds of Europe. He faced the dread possibility following the Revolution of setting up thirteen separate nations. He saw clearly that this

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would mean carrying over, one of the major causes of the intermittent warfare of Europe to America. As early as 1765 Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina, attending the Stamp Act Congress, declared, "There ought to be no New England men, no New Yorkers, known on this continent, but all of us Americans." Later the American saw that the Articles of Confederation were failing to unite the people. Then came the Constitutional Convention, with its gift of the written Constitution of the United States. It declares: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Note that the first object stated is "to form a more perfect union." The name of the country is the United States of America, and the emphasis is appropriately placed upon the word united. The Californian, the Texan, the people of the Middle West and of the South, join with the New Englanders and the inhabitants of all other states in the insistence that the state shall be forever sovereign, but sovereign only as a member of an indissoluble union. Here we behold many peoples of many nations and of many ideals fused into a republic which is making

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a consistent effort to maintain the proposition that the good of the nation as a whole must be put before the selfish desire of any section of it. Is this American characteristic a world characteristic? Is it possible or desirable to put world good before the good of sections of it?

### THE AMERICAN AN INVENTOR

The first patent issued in the United States in 1926 was numbered 1,577,997. This simple statement reveals another characteristic of the American. He is an inventor. If the story of American invention were written into a historical pageant, it would be a tale of fascinating interest and of glorious achievement. The prologue would picture the great souls of all ages who have sought to understand nature's laws, and who have thus made it possible for others to give mankind practical demonstrations in such forms as steam and electrical machines, the telephone, the aeroplane, the radio. The pageant itself would be in the nature of a long procession. We can only note here a few of the many who would rightfully take part.

First, Benjamin Franklin, to remind us of that day in June, 1752, when he performed his experiment with a kite, drawing electricity down from the clouds and charging a Leyden jar from the key at the end of the string. In rapid succession would

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come Eli Whitney, with the story of the cotton gin and the resultant transformation of the South; John Fitch, steamboat inventor and man of many hardships, who upon leaving Philadelphia left in the Library a letter to be opened thirty years after, which contained the line, "I know of nothing so perplexing and vexatious to a man of feelings as a turbulent wife and steamboat building"; and Robert Fulton, who would laughingly recount how the people who had called his steamboat "Fulton's Folly" were forced to open their eyes with wonder when the Clermont sailed the Hudson. The long line of inventors would continue: Thomas Evans, inventor of the high-pressure steam engine and producer of the first successful locomotive in the United States; Elias Howe, who gave us the sewing machine, and Isaac Singer his associate, whose name is seen on so many machines to this day. The spinning and weaving industry would be represented by Amos and Abbot Lawrence and Francis Cabot Lowell, for whom the great textile cities of Lawrence and Lowell, Massachusetts, were named. Charles Newbold and John Deere, who invented ploughs for higher agricultural productivity, would no doubt tell us that the ploughs of Washington's day were no better than those of the days of Cæsar. Others would follow, among them Cyrus Hall McCormick, who invented the reaper; George Westinghouse, who gave us the



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automatic airbrake; and Samuel Finley Breese Morse, inventor of the telegraph.

Still others would pass in review: Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone; Richard M. Hoe, producer of the rotary press; Mergenthaler, of linotype fame; Christopher Sholes and James Densmore, whose names are associated with the typewriter, the former of whom took twelve thousand dollars for his share, and the latter a royalty from which he received a million and a half dollars; George Eastman and the amazing story of the kodak; and hundreds more—notably Thomas Edison; Charles F. Burch, who perfected the arc-light, and A. G. Otis, whose name we see upon entering elevators to this day. Charles Goodyear, who spent years in jail as a debtor, would tell us how he learned to vulcanize rubber. Someone might point out that Goodyear died a poor man, and that in his book he revealed his life philosophy in the statement: "The writer is not disposed to repine and say that he has planted and others have gathered the fruits. The advantages of a career in life should not be estimated exclusively by the standard of dollars and cents, as is too often done. Man has just cause for regret when he sows and no one reaps."

Orville and Wilbur Wright, Samuel F. Langley, and Glenn H. Curtiss would be among the company to tell of the conquest of the air. Perhaps the aero-

## YOUTH AND THE NEW AMERICA

plane in which the Wright brothers, on that eventful day in December, 1903, achieved the first successful flight of a heavier-than-air machine would be wheeled across the shifting stage.

Thus would be revealed the basic concern of our people with applied science. It should be pointed out that until the visit of John Tyndall to America, most of our inventive genius found expression in the practical inventions essential to the conquering of the continent, such as railroads, steamboats, telegraph, reapers, and the like. The research necessary for practical application was not general in the United States in the early days. Many gifted scientists across the Atlantic had spent the tedious hours in the laboratory that are necessary before the practical inventor can go forward.

American genius in this field must turn increasingly to research, to the mastery of principle, and the development of the scientific attitude wherein truth is pursued for truth's sake rather than for the returns of commercial enterprise. What is to be the common attitude toward the work of the scientist and inventor of our day? Are we to say to him, "Patent your invention quickly, make all you can, deny its benefits to those who cannot pay for it, hold out for your price"? Or are we to show him that we regard his work as a true expression of the ideal of life service for humanity, and call forth in this field the

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same devotion of talent and energy to the good of mankind that we ask for in the ministry and in missions?

### THE AMERICAN THE POSSESSOR OF A RICH RELIGIOUS HERITAGE

The words inscribed on our coinage, "In God We Trust," may sound somewhat blasphemous or hypocritical to those who look upon the American as an individual of Shylock spirit. But to those who know America, that phrase reveals the rich religious heritage that is ours. The words inscribed upon the Liberty Bell were taken from *Leviticus* 25: 10, and are typical of the religious interest of the founders of America. It was Benjamin Franklin who arose in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and offered a motion in favor of holding daily prayers before the deliberations of the assembly, declaring, "The longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs in the affairs of men." It was in the darkest hour of the Revolutionary War that George Washington knelt in the snows of Valley Forge and called upon God for strength and enlightenment. The writers of the Declaration of Independence made reference to their Creator and to nature's God. Our political literature, our state constitutions, our historic documents from the Mayflower compact to the last article from the pen of

## YOUTH AND THE NEW AMERICA

Woodrow Wilson, are replete with references to the religious spirit of the American people.

This spirit was manifest in the day of the "covered wagon." America owes a great debt to the sturdy preacher-pioneers who pushed westward to reveal a seeking God to vast numbers of men seeking gold. Theodore Roosevelt describes these rugged apostles in his thrilling story, *The Winning of the West*. It was the same dynamic that sent forth the first missionaries into the Roman world. "Driven by the stimulus of Christ" they sought to share his good news with men of every race. Paul, one of the earliest pioneers, writes, "I have been often at the point of death; five times have I got forty lashes (all but one) from the Jews, three times I have been beaten by the Romans, once pelted with stones, three times shipwrecked, adrift at sea for a whole night and day; I have been often on my travels, I have been in danger from rivers and robbers, in danger from Jews and Gentiles, through dangers of town and of desert, through dangers on the sea, through dangers among false brothers—through labor and hardship, through many a sleepless night, through hunger and thirst, starving many a time, cold and ill-clad, and all the rest of it."<sup>1</sup> The objective of his pioneering is revealed in a lovely paragraph of the Philippian letter: "It is my prayer that your love may be more and

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<sup>1</sup> Moffatt's translation.

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more rich in knowledge and all manner of insight, enabling you to have a sense of what is vital, so that you may be transparent and no harm to anyone in view of the day of Christ, your life covered with that harvest of righteousness which Jesus Christ produces to the glory and the praise of God.”<sup>1</sup>

This religious heritage manifested itself in movements for freedom. Read again *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and sing once more the Battle Hymn of the Republic, to catch the religious fervor back of the anti-slavery movement. It appeared in the movement that led to national prohibition; it was the steady hammering from the church at the cross-roads, the insistent attack by the city preacher, which developed a nation-wide conviction that the evils resulting from the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors could be cured only by abolishing the traffic altogether. Out of this conviction came the action that wrote the Eighteenth Amendment into the Constitution. This same spirit lives today in the church-wide demand for social justice, in the pronouncements calling for the abolition of war, and in the summons to all of us to find a way to live together socially, industrially, internationally. Without considering the educational institutions, the social service endeavors, the hospitals, homes and orphanages under church auspices in America, the most recent statistics

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<sup>1</sup> Moffatt's translation.

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available show that there are in the United States about 235,000 churches, 217,000 ministers, and approximately 48,000,000 members. The churches conduct 195,000 Sunday schools having an enrollment of about 20,000,000. Of the total number of church members about 16,000,000 are Roman Catholics. The annual expenditure of the churches in carrying on their work is about \$330,000,000, and they contribute at least another \$62,000,000 to missions and philanthropy.<sup>1</sup>

Today the religious heritage in the life of America is finding its expression in a new loyalty to Christ himself, a loyalty that gathers up into itself all that is finest in the loyalties that have been given to a church, a creed, a book. The spiritual pioneer of our day turns his faith towards a Person. In loyalty to him a mighty movement of missionary service has swept across our nation, a movement in keeping with the best traditions of the strong religious souls of the past. This call for loyalty to Christ himself is the dominant note of an appeal addressed to one of the great denominations by its board of home missions:

“‘Follow me!’ The simple but all-inclusive command of a Galilean yesterday has become a twentieth-century rally-cry, summoning the people to a mighty crusade. The crusaders are on the

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<sup>1</sup> See the latest issue of *The Handbook of the Churches*, published by the Federal Council of Churches, New York City.



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march, following their Lord. And in the very vanguard of the marching hosts is our Board of Home Missions and Church Extension, whose banners bear the inscription 'America for Christ.'

"'Follow me!' Into the vast foreign-speaking areas of our land where the oneness of his brotherhood remains unrealized; into the polyglot communities where as yet men do not hear him speaking in their own tongue; into our congested industrial centers where millions yearn for the life abundant that he preached; into the loneliness of the unconquered frontiers where pioneer folk long for his message, 'Lo, I am with you alway,' and into our rural sections where harvesters would learn of the white fields of spiritual harvest; into these fields has our Master gone. And we follow him.

"'Follow me!' He turns to his followers, bidding some to stop and heal the sick, others to remain and teach, still others to turn and smite injustice, and all to preach the good news of salvation. Healing demands doctors and hospitals; teaching calls for schools and professors; setting up justice needs the prophet's voice and the scientist's mind; and preaching his word calls for churches and men and women of God."

## CHAPTER II

### THE SOCIAL PRINCIPLES OF JESUS

FACING the problems of world citizenship and the Christianization of America, the young citizen may rightfully ask, "Are there any general Christian principles that may guide my action in the many situations that constantly arise?" There are indeed, and they may be referred to as the social principles of Jesus.

First of all, it is clear that Jesus taught that *men and not things are the goal of social living*. He proclaimed that he came to bring abundant life to men. Both in his life and teaching, he emphasized that human beings are of infinite worth. He believed indeed that they were worth dying for. It is self-evident that men and not things would be the goal of a society which represented the will of Christ.

It is imperative that the young American should ask, "Are we putting things first or men first?" A frank appraisal of our international, social and industrial relationship reveals the regrettable fact that a so-called Christian century is reversing this first social principle of Jesus. We are putting things ahead of human life. We must think objectively,

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evaluate our present order, and then lay our hands to the constructive task of building a society in which men shall be put before things.

A preacher in an industrial community whose church was supported largely by the board of home missions of his denomination, lectured to his people upon the message of the prophet Amos. A little lady rose during the testimony service and said, "I wish some Amos would visit the place where I work." The preacher visited the establishment. He found two hundred and twenty women on the payroll, most of them between forty and sixty years of age, but thirty-three of them over sixty, and eight over seventy. Of the women working full time, he found the wages to average a fraction over thirteen cents per hour. It was piece-work labor. In his study he excluded the women over fifty years of age, and took into his calculation those able to work at reasonable speed. He was amazed to find that of this number only three earned as much as ten dollars during the week. The majority earned between six and seven dollars. This factory paid high returns to its owners. The chairman of the board was a churchman, and a trustee of a great university. The pastor reported the matter to the state commission, charged at that time with maintaining a minimum wage in the state. He was present at the hearing and heard the churchman testify that, considering

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the kind of work done, he thought the women were receiving sufficient remuneration. In any case, he pointed out, there were plenty of others waiting to take their places.

Jesus of Nazareth looks upon men as sons of God. The question quickly arises, have we the engineering skill, the organizing genius, and the technical ability, to reorganize society so as to accord with this principle of the Christ? We have; it is not a question of ability, it is a question of will. We have not yet created the will that can drive men to build a society in which we put men before things.

The true American, remembering the insistence of the founders of his country upon the rights of man, will wish to carry forward this social principle of Jesus. Before he attempts to put this principle into practice, it will be wise for him to consider three questions: (1) What social customs and institutions today violate the sacredness of personality? (2) In what ways does our industrial civilization put the production of goods before the development of personality? (3) What economic rights are involved in the principle of the inestimable value of every personality?

Jesus also demands that we recognize *the solidarity of the human family*. Jesus himself possessed a world mind, a world heart, and a world will. He commanded his followers to carry his message

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into all the world, and in a memorable prayer petitioned his Father "that they may be one, even as we are one." Paul's pharisaic notions were riddled by Jesus' concept of brotherhood, and the proud citizen of a Roman city came to see that there can be "neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, but all are one in Christ Jesus." Jesus teaches that the people of the world all belong to one great, inclusive family and that there is a common Father, God.

If we decide to enthrone this principle, note immediately that we now are breaking it in many ways, one of these being in our international relationships. Solidarity seems to stop at artificial boundary lines. Greek and Turk, Bulgarian and Serb, German and French—do these terms suggest unity? Hardly; they suggest conflict. We live in a world of warring nationalisms in which world good is subordinate to national good. We part company from Christ in our present international policies, which are not based upon the idea of world brotherhood, and thus we fail to see how ludicrous our petitions are when we call upon the Father of us all to bless us in the frightful sinning which we call modern warfare. We find that we break this principle also in the work life of men. Seldom do we insist upon industrial activity being based upon Jesus' command that we love and consider one another. This principle is also broken

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racially. One illustration is evidence enough in point; namely, the lynching of American Negroes.

What does this condition of society signify? It signifies that even though we have advanced marvelously in the conquering of the air, the annihilation of space, the steady march toward victory over disease, and the building of the machine, we have so far failed to master the problem of living together. It is tragic to contemplate the fact that the genius of man has wrought such mechanical marvels, but has not been able to build a world in which men may live together as brothers.

Another teaching of Jesus is *the supremacy of the common good*. Jesus was born in a stable. His family were lowly folk. His mother dreamed that her son would have a part in scattering the proud in the imagination of their hearts, in putting down the mighty from their seats and exalting them of low degree. Jesus refused special privilege in the hour of his temptation. He declared in his first sermon that he was "anointed to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty the bruised." He knew men could not serve God and Mammon. Is it any wonder that the common people heard him gladly?

It is imperative that the young American come to understand those sinister forces which at the moment



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are putting their own selfish interests before the common good. It is necessary that the nation, like the temple, be cleansed; it is equally necessary to know who is responsible for the den of thieves. Jesus apparently harbored no ill-will toward the money-changers as persons, but he was relentless in banishing exploitation from his Father's house. Americans worthy of the name should see to it that we drive from power all those who would prey upon the body politic, and likewise remove the conditions that make possible this state of affairs.

There are many forces which in themselves may destroy our common life unless we rid ourselves of them. The young American ought to study carefully the results that have accompanied the system of private control of natural resources and public necessities. America, as the pioneers soon learned, is rich in God-given wealth. She possesses coal, iron, forests, fertile lands, water-power, untold riches. We have witnessed the passing of this wealth, which was given by God, into the hands of a very few men. In the securing of these natural resources gigantic monopolies were built up, and with the resultant wealth special privilege has been obtained, through bribery, influence and power, at the hands of our political institutions.

The following quotations from Woodrow Wilson reveal the menace of this situation:

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“One of the most alarming phenomena of the time—or rather it would be alarming if the nation had not awakened to it and shown its determination to control it—one of the most significant signs of the new social era, is the degree to which government has become associated with business. I speak, for the moment, of the control over the government exercised by Big Business. Behind the whole subject, of course, is the truth that, in the new order, government and business must be associated closely. But that association is at present of a nature absolutely intolerable; the precedence is wrong, the association is upside down. Our government has been for the past few years under the control of heads of great allied corporations with special interests. It has not controlled these interests and assigned them a proper place in the whole system of business; it has submitted itself to their control.”

“There has come over the land that un-American set of conditions which enables a small number of men who control the government to get favors from the government; by those favors to exclude their fellows from equal business opportunity; by those favors to extend a network of control that will presently dominate every industry in the country, and to make men forget the ancient time when America lay in every hamlet, when America was to be seen in every fair valley, when America displayed her

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great forces on the broad prairies, ran her fine fires of enterprise up over the mountainsides and down into the bowels of the earth, and eager men were everywhere captains of industry—not employees, not looking to a distant city to find out what they might do, but looking about among their neighbors, finding credit according to their character, not according to their connections; finding credit in proportion to what was known to be in them and behind them, not in proportion to the securities they held that were approved where they were not known. In order to start an enterprise now you have to be authenticated in a perfectly impersonal way, not according to yourself, but according to what you own that somebody else approves of your owning. You cannot begin such an enterprise as those that have made America until you are so authenticated, until you have succeeded in obtaining the good-will of large allied capitalists. Is that freedom? That is dependence, not freedom.”

Likewise the control of credit has become vested in the hands of a few. The American will do well to read Louis D. Brandeis’ book entitled *Other People’s Money and How the Bankers Use It*.<sup>1</sup> Coming from one who is now a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, the words carry greater weight.

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<sup>1</sup> *Other People’s Money and How the Bankers Use It*. Louis D. Brandeis. F. A. Stokes Company, New York. 1914.

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The plutocratic control of the press is another destructive force. In a democracy the masses of the people are dependent upon the press for the information upon which they base their social judgments, which are later expressed at the ballot box. A doctor who would poison a city's water supply in order to have sick people to exploit would meet the ready fury of his townsfolk, but the press may poison the minds of the populace and be rewarded by big circulation and heavy advertising. When we think of the shortcomings of the press, however, we should remember two things: first, that although performing a public function, a newspaper or magazine is a private enterprise run for profit; and second, that the influences that affect the sources of its news and the basis of its editorials are not understood by the average man. Nevertheless the deliberate distortion of news, the playing up of the vulgar, and the creation of mind-sets calculated to increase profit, are facts calling for close scrutiny and early removal in the interests of the common good.

There are many forces destructive of the common good, such as our disregard for law and the advocacy of force to gain ends that may or may not be worth while. All such destructive forces must be studied by the young American so that he may go forward, equipped with knowledge, fearlessly carrying on.

A fourth social principle of Jesus may be called

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*equal rights for all.* Jesus uses the word "whosoever." It is a big word. He did not say, "Ye educated, come unto me," nor did he say, "Ye illiterate, follow me." He used an all-inclusive term. In his conversation with Nicodemus he declares that God loves the world, not sections of it. In the Sermon on the Mount he speaks of a Father who makes the sun to shine upon the unjust as well as the just. It would appear that one so interested in all his brothers, who set forth that we were children of one Father, who shared the living water of truth with the woman of Samaria, who urged his followers to go into all the world and preach to every creature, would stand for the principle of equality which he manifested in his daily life.

There are some people who shy at the word "equal." They picture a fifth horseman of the Apocalypse going about clad in red, scissors in hand, cutting everything up into equal parts and dividing the parts equally among all people. Of course no thoughtful person entertains or advocates such nonsense. What is meant here is simply securing a foundation of equal opportunity for all, then allowing men to grow as far as they can in the development of their personalities, provided they do not injure the opportunities of their brothers. There are many rights to be considered under this principle of equal rights for all. Only a few can be presented here.

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The right to be well born. Is there anyone who has pictured Jesus holding the little children close and declaring "of such is the kingdom of heaven," who would deny the right of every babe to be well born? But what are the facts? In Ahmedabad, India, in 1912, 866 out of every 1,000 babies born were dead at the end of the first year, whereas in New Zealand the death of a babe before the first year of age is reached is considered almost a criminal negligence. In Los Angeles the Mexican babe has just one-third the chance to live that the white babe has. There are causes behind such facts. They must be brought to light and eradicated. What is the infant mortality rate in your community? What is being done to reduce it?

The right to a home. It is in the home that the little ones first learn the lessons of mutual sacrifice, mutual love, mutual service, the love of God at mother's knee. Here, too, ought to be provided conditions which will develop the dignity of modest personal habits and responsiveness to beauty. But what do we find in many of the homes in our country? I went into a little room in Los Angeles on Christmas day and found eight persons living there. I have seen eleven persons crowded into a tiny room in the slums of Tokyo. The tragic stories of the city tenements are well known. More than ten per cent of the habitations of England are listed as overcrowded.



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by the British census, which means an average of more than two people to a room, according to the British method of enumeration. In other words, a four-room house must have nine people living in it to be listed as overcrowded. What chance for modesty? What chance for beauty? What chance for life?

The right to play. I have seen little children from six to ten years old standing in front of the machine throughout a fourteen-hour shift, and I have seen little tots dancing around the Maypole in our Los Angeles playgrounds. The relation of play to growth, to juvenile delinquency, to democracy, should be studied by all twentieth-century followers of Christ. A delinquent youngster came to me one day. His nickname was Shrimp. He said, "Gee, I got pinched again. They took me jest for hooking a lawn-mower. Now what d'ye think of that?" His was a social attitude formed upon the streets. Supervised play was this boy's right; through it he would have developed a proper regard for property and for his fellows. But his right had been denied him.

The right to an education. How many would sell their ability to appreciate a poem, to understand a great play, to glory in music, to look upon the world and perceive its wonders, its goodness, its beauty? A million dollars could not compensate a man who has known the advantages of mental development to

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exchange his mind for the mind of the "Man with the Hoe." Surely "the glory of the lighted mind," so precious to those who have received the privileges of education, is too precious to all to be limited to a few.

The right to work. Enforced unemployment in the lands of the earth; men struggling on the docks of London, literally striking down their fellows to get work; jobless men crowded out by their great numbers from the night lodging shelters of New York. Can we not hear above the conflict the voice of the Master calling us to the task of so reordering our lives that all may have the right of self-maintenance, and to the brotherly act of seeing that every life has its chance right through to its end?

The right to vote, the right to a voice in industry, the right to leisure, the right to legal justice, the right to know God! Think these rights through. Nor must we forget the duties that accompany them. As we consider the implications of the principle, equal rights for all, let us remember that the churches have officially declared for "equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life." Are these rights guaranteed to all the people about whose lives you know?

The fifth social principle of Jesus is that *cooperation, not selfish competition, is the law of progress*. In the thought of Jesus, human advancement is based

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upon helpful association among men. His conception seems to be at variance with the oft-repeated statement that "competition is the life of trade," and the common notion of popular biology that "self-preservation is the first law of life." That the life and teachings of Jesus demonstrate the cooperative principle is clear to any student of his thought. The Golden Rule he advocated, the great prayer wherein he would have our trespasses forgiven even as we forgive those who trespass against us, and his presentation of a new greatness which is dependent upon service and sacrifice, are witness to this fact. Nietzsche, who recognized this element in Christian thought, ridiculed it, declaring that Christianity makes for "the survival of the unfit." Of course he misconceived the purpose of Christianity, since its goal is the removal of the causes of unfitness and by this means the elevation of the entire race. The authors of *The Church and Industrial Reconstruction*<sup>1</sup> attempt the outline of an ideal social order. The first point they make is, "It would be a cooperative social order." Are the leaders of Christian social thought in the twentieth century building upon a false hope? What about "nature red in tooth and claw," "the struggle for existence," "competition the

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<sup>1</sup> *The Church and Industrial Reconstruction*. Prepared under the auspices of the Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. Association Press, New York. 1920.

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life of trade"? If these be laws in fact, we should have to abide by them; but are they?

The term "selfish competition" has been used for the purpose of differentiating between the "friendly rivalry in mutual service," as seen when doctors compete in ascertaining the causes of a dread disease, and the form of competition in which the spoils belong to the strong. Using competition in the latter sense, it will be seen that the competition of the nations of the world in their imperialistic sinning has brought the world into conflict and cost it millions of lives, incalculable wealth, and loss of its ideals. Competition has spread from the individual struggle to group struggle, and at the moment there is class struggle for the product of industry. That struggle is freighted with danger and threatens the very work life of man. The terrible waste of competition is evident to all who watch the senseless duplication of railway service in some areas and the lack of reasonable service in others. It is evident in the deplorable situation in the coal industry, where men have gouged the mines of the richest coal, leaving behind millions of tons of usable coal which could well have been mined under a cooperative plan. The partial ruination of our forests and the infringement of our natural park reserves, calling forth the campaign for conservation first popularized by the late Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot, shows what competi-

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tion does to natural resources. Big business faced and recognized that ruthless competition meant death. Then came the trust and combine to thwart its destructive effects, and to introduce sinister results of its own. A frank study of competition in industry shows that human progress cannot be achieved by reliance on such means.

Does it take more of the Christian spirit to achieve leadership in cooperative undertaking than in competitive struggle? Is the cooperative principle at work in any great industries today? An investigation of what has been accomplished by the cooperative societies of England and other European countries would be a rewarding enterprise for any group of American students to undertake.

The last principle we will consider is perhaps the one which we hear repeated most often. In fact, we hear it so often that it has become a commonplace. Jesus shows us that *love and not force is the social bond*. He says: "This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." That teaching is at the very center of Christianity, and forms the basis for our statement that love and not force is the social bond. Jesus went so far as to ask us to love our enemies. He defined religion in terms of love for God and love for brother. He relied upon love to unite men in fel-

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lowship. He declared that they who take the sword perish by it. It was love that prompted the Father of all to send Christ as his revealer to men. Love is the ruling idea in the great parables of the Prodigal Son and the Good Samaritan. It is the motive of the Last Supper. It is the decisive force in the Garden; the ruling passion of the Cross.

But the moment the young American is called upon to go forward under this order, people tell him it is an idealistic dream to think that nations can come to love one another, to think that love can be more powerful than battleships. We build gigantic navies and powerful armies, we rely upon physical force to build the new world. In the name of the Prince of Peace we justify war. We build up great organizations in the industrial world to be sure to get all we can from the work process, and we base the maintenance of these organizations finally upon force. It is said that love is good for preachers to preach about, but business is business just the same.

The advocate of force, however, is hard pressed these days. In world affairs his tragic failure is measured by fields of crosses, increased hatreds, frightful suspicions, a very civilization upon the verge of ruin. In industry the policy of force has resulted in disruption, misunderstandings, loss in production, and the development of intense class spirit upon both sides. Dynasties builded upon force



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are falling or have fallen: the Czars of Russia rule no more; the Hohenzollerns have gone; the Hapsburgs are well-nigh forgotten. Force does not hold men together. It is not the social bond.

Jesus saw that the social bond is love. He preached it and he lived it. He loved people. He loved those who despitefully used him. There are many who say that there is no such thing as love; that everyone is motivated by selfishness, and that you are building upon sand when you rely upon love to act as the cohesive force that holds society together. They talk about enlightened selfishness. However, facts are better than statements of opinion. Let any man hold his own babe close to his heart and deny the fact of love. Explain the sacrifice of noble souls upon any other basis than love. Witness a mother shield her babe and give her very life for her child, and then deny love. Love is one of the most evident of experimental facts. It is upon this force that Jesus relied to hold the social group together. Witness its transforming power in the realm of prison reform. Witness its influence in the mission field. Witness its effect upon the child in modern education. Witness its presence as a motive in all the literature and art of the world.

The hour is at hand when the followers of Jesus must cease relying upon physical force to build the better world, and recall the Lord's statement, "This

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is my commandment, that ye love one another." Our social life must be rebased. Its central principle must be changed. Love must become regnant. It must be seen that love can only be enthroned by love. Some people would whip a man into the Kingdom and then love him. But the Kingdom comes through love.

"Ye have heard that it hath been said, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy.' But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven." It is not only in order that we may be children of the Father that we must love one another, but in order that society itself may be held together. Reliance upon physical force leads us to world suicide. Love and not force is the social bond.

## CHAPTER III

### SWORDS OR PLOUGHSHARES

**A**MERICAN youth is the possessor of a rich heritage. From the forefathers we have inherited the spirit of the pioneer; an abiding faith in democracy; a deep love of liberty; intense individualism; an amazing inventive genius; a superb belief in union; and a profound recognition of the place of religion in life. The Christian youth is doubly rich, since the guiding principles of Jesus are his by right. The Christian likewise belongs to a "beloved community," the church, which is a fellowship seeking to know God as revealed by Christ, and to serve men as did Jesus.

In this lovely fellowship the young American lays hold upon values of infinite worth. He learns that truth frees, love transforms, service ennobles, and faith elevates. He realizes that in the apprehension of God in moments of worship, and in fellowship with him in hours of toil, he has a loving Father. Out of the sense of his own sonship comes a clear-cut realization of common brotherhood. It is through the desire to share the experience of God as Father, and to manifest our love for men as

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brothers, that the missionary movement has developed. The desire to share the permanent values of the Christian life is the motivating force of missionary endeavor. Loyalty to the nation from which we inherit the values of the past and to which we owe the opportunities of the present; loyalty to the fellowship that has conserved and proclaimed the redemptive principles of Jesus; and loyalty to our higher selves in this crucial hour—these loyalties demand that we, the possessors of a rich national heritage and of the teachings of Christ, and fellow-members of a world-transforming endeavor, turn our attention to the basic problems confronting society today and seek to solve them, that a new and better America may be born. Is there a greater problem facing youth than that of abolishing war, setting up world law and order, and bringing to mankind unity in world affairs—in a word the problem of establishing peace and good-will among men? This is the international problem.

A young professor described his experience in battle in a way that reveals the actual process of war and the reason we must banish it as dehumanizing.

"I was in the second wave of the advance. The first wave had gone forward twenty minutes ahead of us. I had never killed a man nor dreamed of killing one. When the order was given I realized with a sickening jolt that I was in it. We were

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ordered to 'mop up.' That is a polite way of saying, 'Leave nothing alive behind you.' I had always pictured a compact body of men rushing forward to take a position. It was not like that. We were thrown out in a long skirmish line and advanced slowly. At first my mind was dazed, but suddenly I came upon a scene that I shall never forget. Directly in front of me was a tree trunk; the branches had been shot away, the trunk was white. The only word that came to my mind was—crucified. Hanging to the tree trunk was a German soldier. A bayonet had been driven into him and through him into the tree. Apparently the American soldier who had killed him had been unable to withdraw the bayonet, and the German hung there, his arms at his side, his eyes open, and his feet just touching the ground. At his feet lay the American lad who had killed him. Some other German had shot down this boy just after he had bayoneted the hanging German." The professor went on. He told us the Germans as a whole were clean, straight fighters. They were men, not the beasts pictured to us in propaganda. He paused for a moment, drawing his hand across his face as if trying to brush away the hideous picture. He could not go on. After a long wait, he uttered but one word—"God!" and turned away.

Is it necessary to point out the reason why the young American must aid in solving the international

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problem? Those two dead youths were but two of ten million men who were killed in battle during the war of 1914-1918. Careful research has shown that in all of the wars from 1790 to 1914, including the nine thousand days of conflict under Napoleon, but 4,449,300 men were killed. During the one thousand seven hundred and fifty days of the World War at least ten million were killed in battle, and probably twenty million more were wounded. It has been estimated that nine million children were rendered fatherless, five million women were made widows, and ten millions of refugees were left destitute. Some have estimated that thirty million people are not among us today who would have been among us but for the war, if we include with the battle dead those who died from starvation and disease and those victims who paid the price after the armistice.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the finest young men of every nation were lost to us. Joyce Kilmer, whose poem, "Trees," has been sung by tens of thousands, will sing no more. He is sleeping beneath the trees today. Rupert Brooke, sailing toward Gallipoli, said that if he must die, there would be "some corner of a foreign field that is forever England." His dust lies in a corner of a foreign field, and that corner is

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<sup>1</sup> Compare *International Relations*. Raymond Leslie Buell. American Political Science Series. Henry Holt & Co. 1925. P. 476.



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indeed forever England. Dr. John McCrae, beholding the Flanders fields where "poppies blow between the crosses row on row," declared, "If ye break faith with us who die, We shall not sleep, though poppies blow In Flanders fields." He was one who died. He commanded us to "take up our quarrel with the foe—" but the real foe is the reliance upon the method of war to settle international disputes. The assumption that war is inevitable is false. In the interest of a new America, youth must give the lie to this assumption every time it is proclaimed, whether the proclamation falls from the lips of the man in the street or a high officer of army or navy, of a communist or an American Legion commander.

I wish every young American might stand in the roadway that runs in front of the American cemetery at the Argonne. You look up the sloping hillside. Before you are thousands of little white crosses, long rows of them in military formation extending to the hilltop. In the center of the field a flag flies from a high pole. Beneath the crosses sleep twenty-five thousand American lads who will never return. They who loved life lie there dead. You behold but twenty-five thousand crosses. The mind cannot picture ten million. Nor can the mind contemplate the weaker children who are to be born in the generation ahead owing to the fact that we have killed off

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the strong of body, and that weaker men, unfit for military service, are to become the surviving fathers, and enfeebled, stunted, defrauded children the men and women of tomorrow.

As I stood in the roadway one summer afternoon I thought of the little children I had seen in the German hospitals suffering from rickets due to underfeeding. I thought of the sad-faced mothers I had seen upon the streets of Paris, Berlin, and London. I recalled a conversation with an American army nurse. She pictured the improvised operating rooms just behind the lines; she told of convoys of five hundred wounded boys. Six teams of doctors and nurses operating forty-eight hours at a stretch—boys torn by high explosives, riddled by shrapnel, burned by liquid fire, strangled by gas. This was the lot of the finest lads of Germany, of France, of England, of America—in fact, of the whole world.

This is war. It is worse than hell. It must be banished from the face of the earth. But an emotional revolt against war is not enough. We must become intellectually convinced that there is a way out, and be able likewise to convince others. Following the development of this conviction, the young American must so steel his will as to work consistently for a solution. This means a dedication of the minds which God has given us to one of the most

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complex problems mankind has faced. It is not a question of mere intellectual interest in a baffling problem; it is a matter of reaching a solution or facing the death of Western civilization. Hence our consideration of the international issue is one that reveals paths of research. It is for the young American to choose which path he will travel. If he, with the young people of the world, will dedicate the mind to study and will share the results of the search, perhaps the older generation, caught in the quicksands of the false assumption that war is inevitable, may yet discover in youth the generation that will point the way out.

### THE CAUSES OF WAR

First of all in this study, the young American must become intimately acquainted with the causes that lead to war. He must not be one of those who, without critical judgment, accept newspaper propaganda, the deceptions of the older diplomats, or the hue and cry of the populace. No thoughtful person, no one with the teachable mind, believes today that one nation was solely guilty in causing the World War, and that the others were the guiltless saviors of civilization. Most of the nations involved in the war were in greater or lesser degree responsible for the causes that inevitably led to it. In days gone by racial hatreds and religious controversies have flung

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men at each other's throats. In the case of religious disputes, oftentimes the opponents have killed each other in the name of the One who said, "A new commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another."

In modern days three major causes of war stand out above the rest. These should be thoroughly understood.

The first cause is selfish nationalism. The Germans rallied to the slogan, "Germany over all"; the idea back of that battle-cry was that the good of Germany should be put before the good of the world. Selfish nationalism means thinking solely in terms of one's own nation, pursuing policies that may be wise from the point of view of self-interest, regardless of the people of other lands who may be exploited in the pursuit of these policies. In America at the moment we hear the slogan, "American First." The young American should be careful lest this slogan do for us what "Germany over all" did for Germany, as it will do unless we transform it into the more Christian appeal, "America first in world service." It must be evident that there is a right kind of nationalism, just as there is a right kind of loyalty to one's family. Rightful nationalism allows an individual to love his nation passionately, to give his talent for the development of his people, and to glory in the ideals and contributions of his nation.

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Such nationalism enables him to give the cultural contributions of his nation to the world, and let these win their way among mankind by their intrinsic worth. It enables him to be proud of his educational advantages, and to urge upon the peoples of the world that they likewise extend education to all. It enables him to stand for democratic idealism, and to labor for the time when the governments of the earth shall be in fact responsible to the will of the people. But this right kind of nationalism does not mean that he will think and act as though it were his duty to force his culture upon other nations; nor that it is his privilege to march into another nation and seize its natural resources. Rather it means that just as family good has been subordinated to the good of the community, and the good of the community to the welfare of the state, so too must the activity of the state be subordinated to the good of the world community.

The second cause of modern wars is economic imperialism. What does that term mean? It means that many of the great nations, following the invention of the steam-driven machine, became industrial powers. These nations learned how to produce more manufactured goods than they themselves needed, and naturally sought markets in which to dispose of surplus products. Several of these nations did not possess sufficient raw materials to continue manu-

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facturing, and consequently sought those less exploited areas in the world wherein raw materials were available and governments backward or unstable. In the mad rush for markets and for raw materials, which had become acute by the second half of the nineteenth century, gigantic nations came into competition with one another, friction developed, immoral methods of securing control of weaker peoples were used by all, and we realize now as we study what took place in those years that the economic basis of war was ever present.

Perhaps economic imperialism can be understood best by reference to Africa. Here is a continent of 11,500,000 square miles, supporting a population of approximately 170,000,000 people. If you will take a map showing Africa as it was in 1815, you will find that at that time there was practically no European ownership. If you study a map of 1880, you will find that European nations had gained control of one million square miles and of ten million people; this of course was serious enough. But by 1914 the map reveals that all of Africa, excepting Abyssinia and Liberia, was owned by European nations; Abyssinia has an area of 350,000 square miles and Liberia about 40,000; the combined population of these two little countries is approximately ten million. Into Africa had come England, France, Germany, Portugal and Belgium, each nation madly contesting for



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markets and raw materials. Sooner or later this contest was bound to result in conflict.

The same story might be told relating to Asia. Is there any evidence that the United States has pursued a policy similar to that of the European nations? If you lived in Japan and had witnessed the spread of control by the United States over certain of the Central American and Caribbean republics; had seen the recognition of Mexico delayed for many months because of the oil question; had beheld the extension of United States territory, first to Hawaii, then to Guam and the Philippines, and had noted in addition the activities of American interests in China, would you feel that America was in danger of becoming imperialistic?

Are you familiar with the fact that Béranger, a noted French politician, writing to Clémenceau, stated, "Who has oil has empire," and that it is thought in governmental circles throughout the world that the next great war may be fought over the problem of oil? Do you know that oil authorities in the United States believe our oil supplies will be exhausted within a few generations? If they should be, do you think we would have the right as a people to stir up revolution in Mexico and, under the guise of a protectorate, secure its oil for ourselves? These questions are listed to raise the larger question, namely, is this major cause of war which we have

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called economic imperialism, operating at the moment and leading us to another conflict? Is it possible to solve these economic problems other than upon the battlefield? How?

The third cause of war is militarism. Economic imperialism has forced the nations to build up gigantic military establishments to keep themselves strong enough to continue in the mad race for markets and materials. Before the last war it was the opinion of many that sooner or later someone was bound to fire the powder train. This was done in 1914. The peoples were taxed to the breaking point in the armament competition. They were told by the statesmen that security lay in great armies and navies. The sinister truth behind these statements was that the statesmen were not thinking in terms of peace but in terms of acquisition, and wished to be powerful enough to acquire that which they wanted. They were well aware that this policy would lead to war, but, as their writings reveal, they looked upon war as a necessary evil. They accepted the philosophy of force. How successful this philosophy proved in preventing war was revealed in 1914.

Students today know that armament is a cause rather than a preventive. Yet in the year 1928 we have heard an American admiral declaring that war is inevitable; that we may fight, for example, England, and therefore must spend seven hundred and

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twenty-five millions of dollars upon a naval building program. Fortunately the public conscience is awake and these statements meet an indignant refutation. However, the underlying fact is that these men rely upon armaments—not because they believe they are a preventive of war, as they state, but because they assume that war is inevitable. Now it is not at all unlikely that some day the world statesmen will see that Jesus, through the very quality of his idealism, offered the sanest basis for practical statesmanship when he called for the acceptance of love as the cohesive power essential to social unity. What is your personal attitude as a Christian towards reliance upon armies and navies to keep the peace, when Jesus clearly tells us to love one another and to resist not evil?

The secret treaties which have been published since the World War, and some indeed during the war itself, reveal with frightful clarity the causes that led to the conflict. Young Americans ought to familiarize themselves with these understandings which foreign offices agreed to, usually without the knowledge of even the elected representatives of the people. We know now the understandings that Germany had with Austria, Italy, and Turkey. The revolution in Russia opened to the public understandings which England had with Russia and with France. And because of documents available in the

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archives at Berlin and Moscow, the understandings Belgium had with France, and France with England, are reasonably well known. Other nations have opened their secret records and the tragic story is out.<sup>1</sup>

Do you believe that representatives of the foreign office of a nation should be allowed to enter into secret understandings which prove to be as binding as treaties in the event of war? Is our own Department of State, which has in charge our foreign relations, entering into any understandings of this kind? Has not the time come when the foreign policy of a nation must be made equally as responsible to the will of the people as is the domestic policy?

### THE STUDY OF A NATION

After the young American has familiarized himself with the causes that lead to war and has become acquainted with the process of secret treaties, the larger task is a study of individual nations, so that he may possess an intelligent opinion relative to the

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<sup>1</sup> Among the books on these phases of recent history are Harry Elmer Barnes' *The Genesis of the World War*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1927, and Professor Charles A. Beard's *Cross Currents in Europe Today*, Marshall Jones Company, Boston, 1922. The volume by Professor G. P. Gooch entitled *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1927, is the most thoroughgoing consideration yet published of the revelations of secret diplomacy and the viewpoints of the leaders in the conflict.

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major issues that concern them all. If a sincere student will set aside one hour a day, he can in six months go over material available in connection with a single nation, and so organize it as to call himself reasonably well advised. This study of a single nation might be divided into many topics. However, five major divisions will make possible the easy grouping of material.

First, the student ought to know the physical characteristics of a nation. By that is meant an understanding of the geographical location, climate, soil, water supply, its features of seacoast, mountains and rivers. This material can be secured in the *Statesman's Yearbook* or any standard encyclopedia. No one can understand England's great commercial success without reference to island geography and to exploration. Prior to the discovery of the new world, England was at the back door of Europe. With its discovery, England became the front door and her commercial position was completely changed.

Second, the student must study the nation's economic background, its occupations and industries, the various commodities it produces, and its undeveloped resources. The easiest way to pursue this study is to take a sheet of paper and to write at the top the name of the nation and down the left-hand side the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. After number 1 write those commodities in which that nation leads the

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world in production; after number 2 the commodities in which it is second, and so on down to 5. For instance, if you are studying India you will see that after the number 1 the commodities listed are tea, jute, rice, sugar cane, and cattle. India leads the world in all these commodities. She is second in cotton and fourth in railway mileage. Completing the sheet, you will have on that single piece of paper the economic background of the nation.<sup>1</sup>

Third, the young American who pursues this study must know the history of the people. History here does not mean a maze of meaningless dates and the petty stories of military heroes, kings and queens; it means the interpretation and understanding of the ideas that a nation has given to the world and the institutions it has developed. The study of history, therefore, will naturally reveal of a people its contributions in the realms of government, philosophy, science, the arts, and literature. No one can really understand England unless he knows and spiritually

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<sup>1</sup> Reference material in this field is easily accessible through the following United States government publications: (1) *A World Atlas of Commercial Geography*, in two volumes, the first dealing with the distribution of the mineral products of the world, and the second with the distribution of the water power of the world; (2) *The Geography of the World's Agriculture*, which shows in graphic form the production of agricultural commodities for the entire world. These books can be secured by addressing the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.



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responds to the thousand-year struggle for political liberty which culminated at last in that magnificent institution of English life which we call the British Parliament. Is it not strange that in most of our schools and colleges today there is little or no reference to the history and culture of the Chinese people, who comprise one-fourth of the human race? Few students know anything of the history of India, though India constitutes one-fifth of mankind.

Fourth, if one would know a nation, he must understand the psychological characteristics of its people. We say, "The Englishman has no sense of humor. The Japanese is a stoic. The American 'tells the world.' The Italian is romantic. Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar." These are catch-phrases that suggest differences in mental traits. They are not accurate descriptions, but they do point out a real truth; namely, that the thinking of various peoples differs widely. Perhaps this is fortunate. What a good thing it is that we have the fire and the romance of the Latin, the tenacity and scientific habit of mind of the Teuton, the individualism and family solidarity of the Chinese, the traditional loyalty and the imitative skill of the Japanese, the reserve and stability of the English, the realism of the Russian coupled with a mercurial will, the fine spiritual perception of the Indian. Whatever may be the values that lie in this variety, certain it is that the

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student who seeks to understand any nation must become acutely aware of its psychological traits.

Fifth, the student must understand the religions that have been instrumental in shaping the people's ideals. A word of warning is here essential. No young American is worthy the name of student unless he studies another's religion in the same spirit that he would like to have that other study his own. No American would wish to have a foreign visitor judge Christianity by some of the crude expressions revealed in certain sects, nor by some of the features that characterize our national life. He would rather wish him to read the simple statements of the ideals of Jesus that even a child can understand. And of course he would wish him to know people of Christian character. If it be that this is our desire when another studies our religion, surely Christianity, to say nothing of fair play, demands that we study that other's religion in similar fashion.

To understand India one must know something of the stories of Hinduism, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism. I remember standing one day beside a filthy pool at Benares in India. An Indian priest was there, and a woman, victim of the abysmal poverty of India, was standing before him. I saw her give him a coin and he, preying upon her superstition, took the money and gave her permission to enter the filthy pool and bathe, thereby to acquire

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merit. And I resented it. To see any man in the name of religion take money from the poor was revolting. Unfortunately I began to judge Hinduism by that single incident and, like many, started to generalize without sufficient data.

A little later this incident was more than balanced during a visit to a place outside Calcutta known as Bolpur, the home of Rabindranath Tagore. After a discussion of the political situation in India, one of us asked the question:

“Sir Rabindranath, what does God mean to you?”

He replied instantly, “I will gladly tell you. One morning when I was but a boy my father took me into the jungle before the sun had risen. We stood there alone in the darkness. My father told me that the sweet-smelling earth was God’s; that God was in it, that he loved it, and had created it. After a time the light began to filter down through the leaves of the trees, and my father told me that God was light, that he was in the light, that he loved it, and that he had created it that I might behold the beauties of the world. Then the birds began to sing, and my father told me God was in the music and had created the song for my enjoyment. And then he turned to me and said, ‘My boy, you are living in a world of beauty and of harmony. It is God’s world, he is in it and of it, and I want you to pledge me here in the jungle this morning that you will never strike

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a harsh nor a dissonant note in God's world as long as you live.' That is what God means to me."

It is clear from this incident what values lie in the spiritual thought of India. Whether or not we find conceptions that appeal to us in religions other than our own, it is imperative that we take the pains to become intelligently informed regarding them.

The five sections enumerated are not meant to be exhaustive. Each section may in turn be divided into several sub-sections. But the five will be a sufficient division for the young student entering the field for the first time.

### THE PROBLEMS TO BE SOLVED

Viscount Bryce, one of the foremost students of world politics, told us in his valuable treatise entitled *International Relations* that idealism is not enough to solve the problems of today. He demanded that we develop sensible idealism, since it is the person with the practical turn of mind who makes contribution to political progress. He defined the sensible idealist in these terms: "The sensible idealist—and he is not less an idealist and a far more useful one if he is sensible and sees the world as it is—is not a visionary, but a man who feels that the forces making for good may and probably will prevail against those making for evil, but will prevail only if the idealists

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join in a constant effort to make them prevail.”<sup>1</sup> This means that the young American, if he be a sensible idealist, will frankly face the problems involved in any discussion of world law and order. If he thinks in terms of some form of world organization created for the purpose of maintaining these, he is face to face at once with many problems.

First, there is the problem of differences in race and language and culture. How are we going to bring into unity the peoples of the world in view of their separating differences of race, the physical barriers of language, and the subtle chasms of culture? This must be done, but as yet no one has been able to answer the question how.

Second, there is the problem arising from differences in civilization levels. If we think of the man in Borneo and the man in London and then try to picture them working together in some form of world organization, we face what seems to be an impossible practical problem. Yet this thing too must be done.

Third, there is the sheer problem of numbers. There are seventeen hundred million people in the world. Is it possible so to organize the world that all these people will be adequately represented by an organization? Each nation separately meets diffi-

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<sup>1</sup> *International Relations*. James Bryce. Chapter V. Macmillan Company, New York. Quoted by permission.

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culty in the matter of insuring popular representation in its internal government. In spite of the fact that this condition holds true nationally, is there possibility of solving the problem internationally? The question must be answered in the affirmative, but as yet no one speaks in terms practical enough to win world support.

Fourth, there is the problem of guaranteeing local autonomy to the nations and at the same time developing world sovereignty. It is self-evident that states will not for the present subordinate their national sovereignty to international sovereignty. It is equally apparent that in days to come we must have some form of international government. How can local autonomy be maintained and at the same time world government be set up?

### PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

One of the splendid characteristics of young people is their firm conviction that what ought to be can be. Consequently I have not feared to put before you the problems that at the moment are staggering the adult life of the world. It is imperative to face these problems and recognize their gravity, and then turn the mind to a study of the various solutions offered. Among them will be found the following.

First, the world state. This is an idea that has been discussed among idealists for many centuries.



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The Christians of the Middle Ages thought of the world state in terms of a unity achieved through the church. H. G. Wells in *The Salvaging of Civilization* presents the ideas of a modern thinker upon this theme. It is his contention that in the central thesis of the League of Nations' covenant the trouble lies. He argues that it is the perpetuation of nationalism that makes it impossible to develop world government, and insists that we must definitely reject our present nationalistic philosophy and accept in fact the idea of a world government that may be able to do for the states of the world what the federal government of the United States of America does for our states. He pictures a world executive, a world legislative body, and a world judiciary. In addition he refers to a world ministry of education, wherein an educational program for the entire world might be drafted and through which a common understanding of the development of the life and early history of man and the major achievements of mankind may be brought to the children of the entire world. He outlines likewise a world ministry of transportation, of health, and the like.

Second, the League of Nations. Mr. Wells' idea is as yet a dream. Some argue that it is quite impossible to make this dream real in the world of practical politics. In the case of the League of Nations we face a different proposition. Here is an

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actual working organization wherein fifty-five nations are slowly developing a "technique of conciliation." The League is in existence. To understand its real objective, the student will do well to read again the speeches of Woodrow Wilson which were delivered during the period of his advocacy of the covenant of the League. He ought also to study Irving Fisher's exhaustive presentation of the League in the book, *The League or War*. It is desirable to communicate with the public information departments of the League of Nations at Geneva and receive literature outlining the activities of the League since its creation.<sup>1</sup>

I shall never forget the afternoon when, after a brief walk down the Avenue Woodrow Wilson beside beautiful Lake Geneva, I stood before the Secretariat building of the League of Nations. My attention was drawn immediately to a marble tablet affixed to the walls that surround the building. I read the inscription and removed my hat.

A LA MEMOIRE DE  
WOODROW WILSON  
PRESIDENT DES ETATS-UNIS  
FONDATEUR DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS

LA VILLE DE GENEVE

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<sup>1</sup> The League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, 6 East 39th Street, New York, publishes an illuminating pamphlet entitled "Essential Facts in regard to the League of Nations, the World Court, and the International Labor Organization."

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Whatever may have been my own attitude toward Articles Ten and Sixteen of the covenant, whatever I may have felt relative to the President's failure to win support for this cause, at that moment I thanked God that a League had been founded, that something tangible was in existence; and I gloried in the fact that it was America's President, my countryman, who was honored as "Founder of the League of Nations."

Inside that Secretariat building I noticed first the mail boxes, beginning with Abyssinia and Albania and continuing to Venezuela and Yugo-Slavia. Here the official communications to all nations, the reports from the health divisions of the League which describe health conditions throughout the world and constructive action in the isolation of plague areas, and reports from the various research bodies of the secretariat, are posted. Near by was the library, an American girl acting as librarian, with a superb collection of the best material available on world problems. Upstairs were the offices where experts, numbering about five hundred, were preparing material for forthcoming meetings of the Council, or the Assembly, or considering intricate questions that had been or were to be referred to various departments, questions of disarmament, health, transit, finance and economic affairs, social and humanitarian matters. Various conferences were in session, with

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representatives from many countries sitting round the table, trying to think out problems that heretofore had often led to war. Near the Secretariat building stands the magnificent International Labor Office. Here were representatives of employers, of labor, and of governments who had come from nearly every country of the world to consider the problems of industrial life. The International Labor Office collects industrial information and disseminates it through its publications, the monthly *International Labor Review* and the weekly *Industrial and Labor Information*. The General Conference, composed of delegates from every member state, meets annually. Recommendations are drafted, referred to the respective governments, and if ratified have the status of treaties. Within it representatives of the world have considered such questions as the forty-eight-hour week, child labor, the minimum wage, working conditions of women, and a score of problems of the kind, seeking to lift the standards for human labor throughout the world.

The relation of the World Court to the League should be considered. The Court meets at The Hague. It is known as the Permanent Court of International Justice, and while closely associated with the work of the League, is independent of it. Its eleven judges and four deputies are elected by majority vote of the League Council and Assembly.

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It is a court of law, and therefore deals only with legal questions.

The World Court meets in the peace palace at The Hague, the building for the erection of which Mr. Andrew Carnegie gave a large part of the money. It is a magnificent structure. The base is of Norwegian granite. The columns of the front colonnade are of gray granite from Sweden. The interior limestone ceilings came from France. Italy presented the marble columns and pilasters of the Great Vestibule. Denmark gave the fountain in the courtyard. Germany offered the large gates. Belgium sent the wrought iron doors. Tapestries of great value were given by France and Japan. Rich carpets came from Turkey and Rumania, vases from China and Russia. The United States gave the group of statuary on the landing of the great staircase. The stained glass workers of England presented the exquisite windows of the great Hall of Justice. It was late one afternoon when, through the courtesy of an American, one of the judges of the World Court, Mr. John Bassett Moore, some of us sat in that hall. The door at the side opened, we arose, the judges entered, the court was called to order in French and in English, and then we sat down to listen to a decision of the court. The decision was read by a Spanish judge, who read it in English, before a court of eleven members from eleven different lands, and

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before a courtroom where newspaper representatives of the entire world and visitors from everywhere had gathered. Here, then, was more than a paper plan. Here was a living, working institution dedicated to a new way of settling international matters. I resolved that day to work for the prevalence of such a method. Whether the present institution is precisely what we want, whether it can be made what it ought to be, whether we must work out some other plan or not, I do not know. But certain it is that the young American who dreams of a new America and a new world will see the necessity of establishing some machinery essential to the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

Third, increased cooperation among the major nations of the world. Such cooperation is constantly proposed in various forms, one of which, called by Viscount Bryce "a combination of states," would rely on some international tribunal in justiciable disputes, and on international conferences and conciliation in non-justiciable ones. These proposals all aim at avoidance of war, without, however, actually rejecting reliance on war as a means of last resort.

The idea of the outlawry of war is one of which we hear with increasing frequency in the United States. Its advocates believe that war at this time enjoys the status of a legal means for settling international disputes, that it stands in this respect today

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precisely as duelling stood yesterday. They argue that slavery also was legal until the governments of the world through their legislative bodies declared it to be illegal, and that through this declaration the first and most important step toward its doom was taken. They urge that if the nations of the world will legislate to the purpose of declaring war an illegal means of settling international difficulties, the major step has been taken toward its abolition. This idea is discussed in Charles Clayton Morrison's book, *The Outlawry of War*. Critics of the plan point out the fact that some machinery is necessary whereby disputes may be settled, and through which programs for the development of the technique of conciliation may be drafted; that the mere outlawing by legislative action will not solve the problem. The answer by the advocates is that it is quite possible to draft treaties outlawing this form of settlement without setting up special machinery, and that in the very nature of the case, without the method of war to resort to, other methods would have to be developed.

In the last place, there are those who seriously advocate the policy of national isolation as a solution to the international problem. They state their position in phrases such as "splendid isolation" and "no entanglements." It is difficult to understand the mind that in this stage of history could suggest this as a solution, but since it is suggested, it ought



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to be considered. It must be recognized, however, that the advocates apparently do not sufficiently realize that the world is now one in a sense in which it was never one before, and that isolation for any major power, whether for better or worse, is a literal impossibility.

What may we think of Kirby Page's suggestion in his pamphlet called "An American Peace Policy," wherein it is advocated that we spend in the interest of international peace sums comparable to the sums now spent by the War and Navy Departments and that we spend them in bringing students from other countries, financing exchange professorships, publishing books and papers revealing the real character of other peoples, developing mutual understanding the while; in a word, that we apply the national income to promote friendship among peoples rather than to prepare for war with them? Is it possible to be a Christian and refuse to consider this international ideal?

## CHAPTER IV

### BREAD AND ROSES

**I** WANNA chance to learn! I wanna chance to live! I wanna see—sun!”

If you have heard Umanski, the giant Polish striker, speak these lines in Channing Pollock's play "The Fool," you perhaps have sensed the basic fact in the worldwide industrial problem. Umanski is a member of a delegation of strikers who have called upon Mr. Goodkind, a coal magnate. The men want a shorter day and wages sufficient to support their families. Umanski, who has been silent throughout most of the discussion, breaks forth in broken English, "I wanna see—sun!"

Goodkind does not understand and asks, "Your son?"

Umanski replies: "God's sun. I never see him. Go to mines, him not up. Work in mines—him not see. Go home—him gone. Got baby five years ago. Never see him. Go to mines—him not up. Come back—him asleep. Go home one day, him gone." He tells of the hopelessness of his wife. "My wife says: 'Good! Not such many to feed!'"

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Jerry, the son of Mr. Goodkind, interrupts, "When you worked you had enough to eat, didn't you?" At that moment Jerry takes a gold cigarette case from his pocket. The sight of it rouses Umanski and he cries out vehemently, "That little box—what you pay for him? Ah, I know; gold! You pay more for him than I got swing pick thirty years. Me and six families—we live in one house you own. We got one room upstairs, two down cellar. Sleep there. Eat—cook—wash upstairs. See nothing but brick yard and clothes hang up to dry. Wife, she carry water from yard. Me, I carry potato peeling out front. Him rot, I don't like that, I quit—and starve!"

He is told that no matter what he was given he would find something to kick about. Umanski takes up the challenge: "If I don't like, other mans will. Other mans take my job. I got little girl twenty years old. Awful nice little girl. Got gold hair. Got blue eyes. Her take sick. She sorry she's sick. She wanna go to church. She asks me, 'Pop, buy me new dress for church. Buy me pretty pink dress.' Where I get him? We hire doctor once, and he say: 'Air—sunshine—milk—eggs.' Where I get air, sunshine, milk, eggs? Got no job. My little girl—she cough and cough and cough, and one night she die. I tell you we got right to quit! We got right to hang together! We got right to fight—to live—

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and, by God, we gonna fight—we gonna live—we gonna—*by God!*”<sup>1</sup>

The industrial problem cannot be understood until the young American realizes that it is not primarily a matter of economic theory, cold statistics, new forms of scientific organization, or low-cost production. It is not a matter of foreign agitators. The industrial issue roots fundamentally in the universal demand of man for abundant life. Jesus himself declared that he had come to earth that men might have life, and might have it abundantly. Man, by his very nature, calls for development not only of body but of mind and soul. He knows, as Jesus said, that he cannot live by bread alone. It is because the working classes of the world have come to believe that our present industrial order denies them and their children the opportunity to develop their lives and personalities to the full that they are clamoring for change.

All too often the young student approaches the labor problem academically. The person who studies unemployment without realizing that behind each unit in the statistical column is a suffering human being, is unqualified to speak with authority on the problem. The industrial question is basically a human issue. The young American must grasp the

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<sup>1</sup> *The Fool*. Channing Pollock. Brentano, New York. Quoted by permission.

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fact that the labor movements of the world "are not out," as Ramsay MacDonald once put it, "to fill the stomachs of men as a primary task." "In so far as men are hungry," he said, "we will fill their stomachs, but we really seek to fill the souls of men. We aim at the perfection of soul and spirit."

### BREAD AND ROSES

The matter of the spiritual urge beneath the present demands of the workers is stressed here for the reason that it is often overlooked. Some time ago the girls in the textile industries of Lawrence, Massachusetts, were on strike. They paraded the streets carrying a banner which bore the inscription, "Bread and Roses." James Oppenheim expressed in moving verse the spirit underlying that slogan:

As we come marching, marching, in the beauty of the day,  
A million darkened kitchens, a thousand mill-lofts gray,  
Are touched with all the radiance that a sudden sun  
discloses,  
For the people hear us singing, "Bread and roses, bread  
and roses."

As we come marching, marching, we battle, too, for men—  
For they are women's children and we mother them again.  
Our lives shall not be sweated from birth until life closes—  
Hearts starve as well as bodies: Give us bread, but give  
us roses!

## BREAD AND ROSES

As we come marching, marching, unnumbered women  
dead

Go crying through our singing their ancient song of bread;  
Small art and love and beauty their drudging spirits knew;  
Yes, it is bread we fight for, but we fight for roses too.

As we come marching, marching, we bring the Greater  
Days;

The rising of the women means the rising of the race;  
No more the drudge and idler—ten that toil where one  
reposes—

But a sharing of life's glories: bread and roses, bread  
and roses!<sup>1</sup>

What sections of your town's population do not have  
sufficient bread, not to speak of roses?

Having faced the spiritual nature of the urge beneath the work life of man, the young American must face the question: "Is it possible to build an industrial order that will satisfy the spiritual hunger of mankind; in a word, is it within the realm of practical possibility to build an industrial order grounded upon the ethical principles of Jesus?" This question implies that the present economic order is unchristian. Is such an implication true? The Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, in a publication entitled "The Christian Spirit in Industrial Relations," by Dr. John McDowell, declares:

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted by permission.

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"We cannot but see that much in our present social order is contrary to the mind of Christ, and we believe that it is our duty to protest against these unchristian things, and, so far as we can, to establish in their place that which is Christian."

### MODERN INDUSTRY A RECENT GROWTH

At the very outset it should be noted that modern industrial life is of recent growth; in fact, about a hundred and fifty years old. Born during the industrial revolution, it dates roughly from 1760. The industrial revolution refers to that period in English history when, with the invention of the steam-driven machine, the factory system began to develop, handicraft industries were superseded, and industrial cities were built. This period marked the passing of the ownership of the tools of production from the worker to the one who became known as the capitalist, the one who owned the factory or mill or who supplied the money for the undertaking. Thus our industrial system, which was begun with the advent of the steam-driven machine, is known technically as the capitalist system. Is it true that capitalism has developed an industrial life that is largely unchristian?

Sidney and Beatrice Webb are recognized as two of the foremost students of the industrial problem in England. They have served upon numerous gov-



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ernmental commissions, and their books are generally regarded as standard treatises. In *The Decay of Capitalist Civilization*<sup>1</sup> they present the early successes of capitalism with exceptional clarity. They point out that in spite of an awful debit account, capitalism tremendously increased production, and that this increase in production resulted in an increase of British trade to all countries, the growth of British shipping, and the rise of British banking and insurance. With the resulting surplus, investments were made in other lands, in such enterprises as railroads, factories, mines and shipping. Large-scale production resulted in cheaper production. It was an age of mechanical contrivance which called forth an unprecedented amount of mental energy for the purpose of speeding the industrial process. The expansion of imports of raw materials and of exports of manufactured goods increased for the entire world the amount of consumable commodities.

### MINE MULES VS. MINE CHILDREN

As this system developed, organized as it was around what is called the profit motive, human considerations were largely forgotten. It seems impossible that as late as 1840, women were hitched to the ore-cars in the mines of England and that they thus

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<sup>1</sup> *The Decay of Capitalist Civilization*. Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. 1923.

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dragged the cars along the levels to the shafts. We can scarcely believe that little children have gone below ground in the mines on Monday morning, not to come to the surface again until Saturday night. Yet conditions such as these have been, unfortunately, the product of the system. Since the primary goal was to make profit, and the profit-maker faced ruthless competition, human beings were treated as machinery and human labor became a commodity. It has been pointed out that the mine owner was more careful of mine mules than of mine children. In the event that an explosion killed a mule, the owner had to buy a new one; but if a child were killed, there were other children at the mine mouth to be had free to take its place.

So the industrial system spread around the world, bringing in its train certain undisputed benefits, but carrying likewise evils that are at the very heart of the social industrial problem. These evils that we face today as a result of the competitive system have been pointed out by many critics and have been summarized as follows:

“The existence of slums and sweatshops in our large cities; the prevalence of child and woman labor; the fact that thousands of men, willing to work, are daily unemployed; the increasing concentration of industry and the centralization of wealth; the lack of equality of opportunity; the frequent

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recurrence of panics and 'hard times'; the anarchy and wastes of competition and of capitalistic production; the universality of adulteration and of commercial dishonesty; the injustice of rent, interest, and profits, by means of which the workers are 'exploited'; the presence on all sides of poverty, misery, insanity, crime, drunkenness and degeneracy; the breaking up of the home as a result of industrial conditions; the growing seriousness of the divorce evil; the traffic in 'white slaves'; the prevalence of graft and corruption; and the inequality of classes before the law."<sup>1</sup>

Defenders of the system answer that these evils might occur under other systems, that many of them are due not to the system but to human nature, and that in any case the system can be so reformed that its evils can be eliminated and its values retained. The young American must decide this question for himself, but it is important that he seek first-hand contact with industry as it affects life before making his decision.

Whether the fault lies in the system or elsewhere, certain it is that Christians dare not rest until the issue is squarely faced and abundant life has become the lot of all men. It may be well to read a fascinating little volume written by Mr. H. L. Gantt, en-

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<sup>1</sup> *The Essentials of Socialism*. Ira B. Cross. Pp. 11-12. Macmillan Company, New York. 1912.

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titled *Organizing for Work*. Mr. Gantt points out the deadlock that has resulted in modern industry from the unlimited pursuit of the profit motive. He shows that production can be increased several fold if we can introduce a new spirit into industry and at the same time eliminate the terrible waste involved in present-day competition. He, an engineer, goes so far as to state: "We have proved in many places that the doctrine of service which has been preached in the churches as religion, is not only good economics and eminently practical, but because of the increased production of goods obtained by it, promises to lead us safely through the maze of confusion into which we seem to be headed and to give us that industrial democracy which alone can afford a basis for industrial peace."<sup>1</sup>

### WHAT IS INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY?

What does Mr. Gantt mean by industrial democracy? What does the term mean to you? The Methodist Episcopal Church at the General Conference of 1916 stated: "With the demand for industrial democracy the churches are intensely concerned, for democracy is the expression of Christianity." It amplified this statement by the further declaration: "Christianity moves up to higher ground. It re-

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<sup>1</sup> *Organizing for Work*. H. L. Gantt. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. 1919. Quoted by permission.

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quires the supremacy of the principle of cooperation in the industrial world. The church must, therefore, clearly teach the principle of the fullest possible cooperative control and ownership of industry and of the natural resources upon which industry depends, in order that men may be spurred to develop the methods that shall adequately express this principle. Then will industry become a religious experience, developing mutual service and sacrifice, the interpretation in economic terms of the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God."

Herbert Hoover, acting as Chairman of the Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry of the Federated American Engineering Societies, writes an introduction to the volume, *Waste in Industry*. This volume in its joint findings indicates that "waste in industry is attributable to (1) low production caused by faulty management of materials, plant, equipment and men; (2) interrupted production caused by idle men, idle materials, idle plants, idle equipment; (3) restricted production intentionally caused by owners, management, or labor; (4) lost production caused by ill health, physical defects and industrial accidents."<sup>1</sup> The findings then point out that "over fifty per cent of the responsibility for these wastes can be placed at the door of management and less than twenty-five

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<sup>1</sup> *Waste in Industry*. Federated American Engineering Societies. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York. 1921.

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per cent at the door of labor, while the amount chargeable to outside contacts is least of all. It must be recognized that if management is to meet this responsibility fully it must have the full cooperation of labor." How can this cooperation be secured? How can we give the man Umanski a chance to live, to learn, to see the sun?

### FULL AND COMPLETE LIFE DEMANDED

Whatever may be our personal attitude toward the industrial problem, we must face it. There is wide-spread industrial unrest, growing class-hatred, increasing class-consciousness. The worker is demanding a fuller life, he is refusing to produce as heretofore under the profit system. We are headed toward serious difficulty unless our industrial life can be so reorganized that the principles Jesus taught become its ruling forces. There are many sincere Christians who argue that the industrial question is so complex that it behooves the churchmen to leave it to experts who alone are qualified to face it. But the possessors of the gospel of Jesus dare not evade any problem, no matter how complex, when by the calm and intelligent facing of it they may render a service to their fellow-men which is destined to bring nearer the kingdom of God.

The question has been stated, "Is our industrial

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system unchristian?" Such a question cannot be answered by yes or no, for the reason that some sectors of the industrial front may be termed Christian while others most certainly would be declared unchristian. The Social Service Department of the Congregational Education Society has published a booklet under the title "Constitutionalism in Industry." It was written by the Research Secretary of that organization, Miss Agnes H. Campbell. It outlines the attempts of certain corporations and progressive employers to translate the democratic ideal into industrial practice. Some of these men have sought to work out the industrial problem in accord with Christian principles, and in some cases their efforts have proved successful. But to answer the major question, "Is our industrial system unchristian?" we must go deeper and ascertain the central principles around which industry is organized, and then compare them with the social principles of Christ.

### THE ACQUISITIVE MOTIVE

A frank study of our order reveals that it is based on a few controlling concepts of human motives. First, there is the acquisitive motive. The driving force of modern industry is the desire to acquire. This is sometimes called the profit motive. A full discussion of the acquisitive motive in our work life will be found in R. H. Tawney's thought-provoking



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book, *The Acquisitive Society*. Mr. Tawney points out that the object of industry ought to be that of supplying men with things that are necessary, useful, or beautiful. In so far as industry is governed by this end, it is among the most important of human activities, but unfortunately, he contends, industry is not organized for that purpose, it is organized for acquisition. It must therefore be replaced by a social order which is termed a "functional society" and is defined by Mr. Tawney as follows:

"A society which aimed at making the acquisition of wealth contingent upon the discharge of social obligations, which sought to proportion remuneration to service and denied it to those by whom no service was performed, which inquired first not what men possess but what they can make or create or achieve, might be called a functional society because in such a society the main subject of social emphasis would be the performance of functions. . . . At present we live in an acquisitive society in which the whole tendency and interest and preoccupation is to promote the acquisition of wealth."<sup>1</sup>

Do you believe one's right to income should depend upon the service he renders, or upon his need, or upon his ability to acquire? What about the inheritance of vast wealth? How can you determine

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<sup>1</sup> *The Acquisitive Society*. R. H. Tawney. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. 1920. Quoted by permission.

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the monetary value of service? What is the general policy followed by most of our mission boards in determining the salaries to be paid to home and foreign missionaries?

The acquisitive motive comes into collision with the service motive of Jesus. It is argued that the service motive is idealistic, but that efficiency depends upon proper reward, in a word, self-interest, acquisition. Is our educational system efficient? True enough, teachers receive salaries, but education is organized for service, not profit. We do not run the schools to make money. Are they handled better collectively for service than privately for profit? Or take the profession of medicine. Why is it that a man in medical research will give the results of his study to all for the benefit of mankind, instead of patenting these results and denying their benefit to all except those who can pay the fee? What was the motive that drove men to give their lives in Cuba in the battle against yellow fever? Why did Jesse Lazear allow himself to be bitten by the mosquito carrying yellow fever? Is it possible to get this spirit into industry? Paul deKruif tells a thrilling story of the service of research students in medicine in his book, *Microbe Hunters*.<sup>1</sup> Ronald Ross, facing the scourge of malaria, seeking its cause and

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<sup>1</sup> *Microbe Hunters*. P. H. deKruif. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. 1926.

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praying that he might banish it from the earth,  
wrote:

In this, O nature, yield, I pray, to me;

I pace and pace, and think and think, and take  
The fever'd hands, and note down all I see,  
That some dim distant light may haply break.

The painful faces ask can we not cure?

We answer, No, not yet; we seek the laws.  
O God, reveal, through all this thing obscure,  
The unseen, small but million-murdering cause.

After weary research, this great physician found at  
last the answer to his question. In that moment of  
exultation he wrote:

This day relenting God  
Hath placed within my hand  
A wondrous thing; and God  
Be praised. At his command,

Seeking his secret deeds,  
With tears and toiling breath,  
I find thy cunning seeds,  
O million-murdering death!

I know this little thing  
A myriad men will save.  
O death, where is thy sting?  
Thy victory, O grave?<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted by permission of John Murray.

## BREAD AND ROSES

How far is this same spirit to be found today in engineering, finance, commerce, industry?

### THE AUTOCRATIC SPIRIT

In the second place, the industrial order of today is essentially autocratic in spirit. Justice Louis D. Brandeis, of the Supreme Court of the United States, a profound student of the industrial problem, declared in his testimony before the Commission on Industrial Relations:

“My observation leads me to believe that while there are many single things—single causes—contributing to unrest, there is but one cause which is fundamental, and it is the necessary conflict between—the contrast between—our political liberty and the industrial absolutism.”

The absolutism that Justice Brandeis refers to is widespread. Accompanying it is the assumption that the worker shall have no voice in the industrial process. This autocratic spirit conflicts with the democratic demands of the age. In large sections of our industrial life, the managing and owning groups cannot understand the reason for the demand of the workers. Like Louis of France who honestly believed his statement, “I am the state,” owners in industry declare, “This is my property. By what right do these men claim a right to dictate to me?” People in democratic countries have come to believe

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that government must be of the people, by the people, and for the people. They have vested ownership of the state in the people, and men govern only upon the consent of the governed. Workingmen rightly or wrongly argue that since their work life touches them more often and more intimately than their political life, if democracy is to their interest politically, why should it not benefit them industrially? Practically all the labor movements of the world, whether led by intellectuals or by workingmen, are demanding some form of industrial democracy. They insist that the present system gives owners virtual control of the destiny of millions who must toil. They recognize that executives must direct the technical phases of production, the intricate matter of finance, and the problems of organization, but they demand some form of final control wherein their voice shall be heard. Do you think it wise to democratize industry? Is it not imperative that scientific intelligence, organizing genius, executive skill, be left free for the creative task? How can this be done in an industrial order wherein workers have partial or complete control?

### MATERIALISM THE RULING PHILOSOPHY

Thirdly, modern industry is based upon a materialistic attitude toward life. In a machine age we have a machine theory of human labor itself. This

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means that men are thought of as machines, to be put into use or disuse according to the state of the market, to be utilized as instruments of production and scrapped when worn out, or as commodities like coal or wood, to be bought, used up, and replaced by more at the lowest market price of supply. The goal of all industry seems to be profit-making. The end is ever materialistic, though it is argued that the products of industry are essential for living the full and complete life. The human factors involved in achieving the goal are commonly subordinated. It is not unusual for large corporations to set aside as surplus a certain amount of earnings so that in times of depression dividends may be paid upon stock without interruption. The philosophy of this practice is seen in the fact that while corporations thus protect the interests of investors, as soon as depression comes the workers are turned out to face unemployment. It must be self-evident that these men had a part in the production of the wealth which was set aside as surplus. Materialism is manifest in the self-interest motive, in the conception of industrial enterprise, in the lack of regard for human life.

### THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION

Thousands of keen minds are considering this industrial question. Some put forth what they call proposed roads to freedom. There is much disagree-

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ment among them. But the young American is called upon, once he has recognized the conflict between the Christian ideal for the life of man and present-day practice, to consider the proposals, since the Christian cannot rest until the ideal for which he stands becomes the accepted practice of men. He must beware of the all too simply phrased panacea, recognizing that the problem is complex, and that progress lies along the road of careful, scientific advance grounded in the life principles of Jesus. He will do well to listen to the testimony of the men who have been sent by our home mission boards into fields presenting these problems. The churches are at work in the logging-camps of the Northwest; in the coal regions of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Colorado; in the industrial areas of great cities, and among the casual laborers of our rural sections. Our representatives have touched the lives of these toilers. They know their mind and understand their aspirations. Slowly but surely the churches are acquiring the information upon which to base a practical program which may yet transform society. The young American envisioning a better tomorrow will do well to communicate with those in his own church who are charged with this responsibility, and in the light of information received, turn to a study of the ways and means that are offered by all sorts and conditions of men.



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### BABEL DOWN TO DATE

The moment the student directs himself to finding a solution he hears the proponents of panaceas urging their programs, he notes established organizations, and hears much of criticism from opposing groups. He must recognize that offered solutions differ as day from night, must learn to evaluate them, and reserve judgment until the facts are in his possession. He will soon come to realize that if a socialist, a trade-unionist, a syndicalist and a philosophical anarchist were to gather around a table to discuss the industrial problem, it would quite likely be necessary to call for an ambulance to carry three of them away from the discussion. It is not possible to class these groups or any others under a convenient catch word like "red" and dismiss them. All must be studied, and if an honest man cannot find suggestion in any of them, it is his duty to seek a better way. He dare not, as a Christian, spend his energy attacking such groups, failing to attend to the greater task, that of establishing a more just society. It may be well to turn to Savel Zimand's *Modern Social Movements*.<sup>1</sup> This is a book listing the best available material, pro and con, on the labor movements and the branches thereof, throughout the world. *A Short History of*

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<sup>1</sup> *Modern Social Movements*. Savel Zimand. H. W. Wilson Company, New York. 1921.

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*the American Labor Movement*,<sup>1</sup> by Mary Beard, is a good introduction. The young American soon learns that he must be able to distinguish the syndicalist and the trade-unionist, the anarchist and the socialist, and particularly the reactionary, the conservative, and the liberal casts of mind. As he studies any group or movement he will seek to distinguish the goal, the program relied upon to achieve the goal, and the method advocated to put the program into practice.

In briefest possible form we may turn our attention to some of the groups concerned with the interests of labor in order to suggest lines of further study.

### THE BRITISH LABOR MOVEMENT

One of the most significant groups is the British labor movement. The political wing of this movement has already been charged with conducting the government of Britain, and will probably face that responsibility again within the near future. How did British labor come to power? There were three major reasons: first, its leadership; second, its organization; third, its program. Among the leaders of the British labor movement are many of the outstanding thinkers of England, men who are at home

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<sup>1</sup> *A Short History of the American Labor Movement*. Mary Beard. The Macmillan Company, New York. 1927.

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in the field of economics, well acquainted with foreign affairs, and some of them fired by a religious dynamic. Many of the early leaders of the movement were Methodist local preachers. It is perhaps due to this heritage that in the United States the Board of Home Missions of the Methodist Church, in its Council of Cities, has called for the reenactment in the twentieth century of the Wesleyan revival of the eighteenth century. If a college graduate of Oxford thought it fitting to preach to coal-miners who "came black" to his preaching, and if they received from him a message that changed their hearts and sent them forth flaming evangelists for social justice, will it not become the church of the twentieth century to regard as a major endeavor of the day the task of placing that spirit in the work life of man?

One of the rugged leaders of British labor declared recently, "Nowhere in the world is there a working-class movement within which there is so much religious idealism, without being attached to any church or to any kind of theology in the ordinary sense of the word. Here is the spirit of the crusade, the magnificent willingness to sacrifice; and, weighed, these are of more worth than the churchly insistence upon ritualistic virtue and temperance in small sinning. Religion has never been presented to the world as something which should dominate all the relationships between man and man. . . . The

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cause of our difficulty is, we have a society grown up in the defiance of the teaching of Jesus."

In the organization of its movement, British labor has been keen enough to unite the producers in the trade unions, the consumers in the cooperative societies, and the citizens in the Labor Party. In addition to these three units, labor has seen from the beginning that it could never successfully assume the responsibility of government without education. A strong worker's educational movement was therefore developed, and we witness today a labor movement permeated with educational endeavor.

British labor has stated its program in terms of human need, terms which in general affect the thought of labor throughout the world. It calls, first, "for the uniform enforcement of a national minimum standard of life." By this it means that there must be a minimum standard of health, housing, education, leisure, and the like, below which no one shall live. Second, it calls for the democratic control of industry. Third, it urges a revolution in national finance, one of its major planks declaring for an immediate reduction of military and naval budgets to one-half their present totals. Fourth, it demands that the surplus wealth of the nation be used for the common good. The conviction underlying this argument is that God put coal in the ground to keep people warm or to generate energy; that he did not

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put it there to enable a man who was clever enough to trick a boy king some centuries ago and get legal title to it, to live upon the income from the lands all his life, and pass title to his descendants so that they may live in luxury without work through the centuries, until at last an aristocratic class is built up which publicly boasts that it has never soiled its hands in honest toil. On the contrary, the revenues from coal ought to be socially controlled to apply to better housing and better education, in a word, for a higher standard of living. If, under the present competition of oil, water, and lignite, the coal industry is operated at a loss and not at a profit, since it is a basic industry the loss likewise ought to be shared socially. Labor does not at all propose that such natural resources as coal should be confiscated by the nation. It proposes that the present owners should be paid. However, it does not believe that the men who receive this payment should be allowed at death to pass that vast sum to their children, thus enabling the children to live in luxury without rendering productive service to the state. Therefore it proposes that upon the present owners' death the amount come back to the state through an inheritance tax.

We may not agree with these proposals. We may argue that it is not possible to guarantee a minimum standard of life. Whatever our agreements or dis-

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agreements, the industrial problem is upon us. We must take account of and try to understand the solutions offered by sincere men.

### THE SOCIALIST PROPOSAL

In view of the fact that many major governments of the world are under socialistic control, the young American ought to lay aside prejudgment or prejudice, if he has either, and inquire into what socialism is. He will then be more intelligently equipped to decide for himself whether its central principles are in accord or at variance with the teachings of Jesus, and to face the question, Is the ideal, the program, the method, of socialism likely to make industry a brotherhood? The volume by Professor Ira B. Cross entitled *Essentials of Socialism* points out that it is difficult to define a living movement, that there are many kinds of socialists: Christian socialists, Fabian socialists, state socialists, utopian socialists, scientific socialists, and others. In the book the Marxian ideas are outlined, and in summary form careful criticisms of each are presented.<sup>1</sup>

Wherever inquiry may lead, it appears impossible for the Christian who accepts Jesus' principle that

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<sup>1</sup> Other illuminating books for such a study are *The History of Socialist Thought*, by Harry W. Laidler, T. Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1927, and *Karl Marx's Capital*, by A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford University Press, New York, 1925.

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love and not force is the social bond, to justify the force method of control, whether it be a future control by the proletariat or a present control by the capitalist. Whatever his disagreements with any of the groups studied, the young American must know why he disagrees and what it is the group actually stands for. For example, Mr. Morris Hillquit, a leader among American socialists defines socialism in the following terms:

“As democracy means political self-government, so socialism calls for industrial self-government. Stated in more concrete terms, the socialist program requires the public and collective ownership and operation of the principal instruments and agencies for the production and distribution of wealth, the land, mines, railroads, steamboats, telegraph and telephone lines, mills, factories and modern machinery. This is the main program and ultimate aim of the whole socialist movement and the political creed of all socialists. It is the unfailing test of socialist adherence and admits of no limitation, extension or variation. Whoever accepts this program is a socialist. Who does not is not.”

Would all socialists accept this statement? Do the socialists propose to do away with private property? Why do they answer no, and declare that they seek to increase the amount of private property each individual may own?



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## THE TRADE UNIONS

The history and thought of the trade-unionist movement must be studied. The philosophy of American trade-unionists takes the present capitalist system for granted. It believes that since capital is organized, the workers must likewise be organized. It seeks to organize them through unions. It believes that there is much in common between the employer and the employee, and seeks through negotiation or collective bargaining to draw up a contract between the two parties, employer and employee, to regulate those matters which concern both. Trade unionism insists that the workers shall be free to choose their own representatives as the employers are likewise free. Some critics point out that there is no final solution in trade unionism, since it posits two conflicting groups, each seeking to secure from the industrial product as large a share as possible. However, it ought to be seen clearly that, with capital powerfully organized and exceedingly aggressive, it was and is natural and imperative that the workers also organize, nor is it impossible that the unions may form the basic organizations out of which a new industrial order may evolve. It should be pointed out that a growing section of trade unionism is insisting that a new industrial order, based upon different principles, is essential if a just solution is to be found.

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The churches have declared that they stand for the right of employees and employers alike to organize. A statement on this subject issued by the Secretary of the Commission on Social Service and Rural Work of the Reformed Church in the United States urges that the church recognize the need for a change in the control and management of industry, by which the workers may have more voice in determining the matters that so vitally affect their working lives. The statement goes on to say, "Organized labor is a movement in this direction, and whatever its shortcomings, we should sympathize with its desire to find a way out from the autocratic control of industry by the few. It is a difficult question, but far-sighted employers are seeking ways to accomplish the change, and the church should give its support to the development of orderly government in industry in the place of injurious conflict and struggle for power."

### THE SYNDICALIST

In the United States we have another industrial group known as Industrial Workers of the World. These are syndicalists. Syndicalism proceeds upon precisely the opposite principles from those of trade unionism. It does not believe that there is anything in common between the capitalist and the worker. It believes that industry is organized upon a war basis, and that there can be no solution until the workers

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so organize themselves, through gigantic industrial unions, that they are powerful enough to call a general strike, paralyze industry and seize it, and upon seizing it reorganize it democratically, in the interest of the workers. Believing that industry is war, it justifies the methods of war. The use of sabotage, the acceptance of the philosophy that the end justifies the means, the denial of the efficacy of the political method and reliance upon direct action instead, reveal a movement the methods of which run at variance with the method of Christianity. The goal should be distinguished from the methods, but it would appear that any movement which advocates the use of force to gain its ends is likely to develop reliance upon force as a method.<sup>1</sup> As a result, while one group might successfully set up a form of industrial organization by this method, another group might come into power and overthrow it by use of the same method.

It should be seen here, however, that such a philosophy as that of the I. W. W. usually springs from those sections of our industrial life where there is frightful social injustice. Carleton Parker studied this group in his book called *The Casual Laborer and*

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<sup>1</sup>The I. W. W. since the war have officially repudiated the force tactics usually justified in syndicalist texts. There is a question as to whether this marks a change of heart or a resort to expediency.

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*Other Essays.*<sup>1</sup> He showed clearly that syndicalism develops where industrial conditions are at their worst. He analyzed the problem from a psychological viewpoint and showed that the casual laborer, denied a home, denied the vote, denied the social environment, finds society constantly frustrating the fulfillment of his normal, instinctive wants, and thus becomes a rebel against it. It would seem far wiser for the young American to study the causes that produce the philosophy of syndicalism and remove them, rather than adopt the policy of those who have created a "red scare" to cover up unjustifiable practices, their own included, and have thrown the protester in jail to rid themselves of his criticism. How effective have criminal laws proved to be in removing syndicalism? Can you jail ideas? What is the way to defeat an idea believed to be a wrong one?

### THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT

The young American studying the nature of communism will consider the present situation in Russia. Again the ideal, the program, and the method of putting the program into practice must be distinguished. The ideal was "the abolition of the exploitation of man by man." The communist leaders dreamed of a society wherein there would be no con-

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<sup>1</sup> *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays.* Carleton H. Parker. Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York. 1920.

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trolling classes, no inferior classes, none undeveloped, the parasite eliminated; a society which enforced universal obligation to work and excluded the non-worker from the franchise. The perplexity we face with regard to communism is not in relation to its ideal but in relation to the program advocated to translate the ideal into actuality, and the method used to put the program into practice. The ideal as we have quoted it is abolition of exploitation of man by man, the program is communism, and the method resorted to is revolution and dictatorship.

The theoretical program of the communist is summed up in a paragraph of Edward Alsworth Ross in his *Russian Soviet Republic*. "The Communists aimed to do away with all exploitation of man by man. By exploitation they meant any gathering by one man of the fruits of the labor of others. When one man works with the aid of a machine provided by another, they considered that the worker is exploited if he receives anything less than all the value he has produced with the aid of the machine. This leaves nothing as rental for the owner of the machine. If he gets anything for the use of the machine he is an exploiter. Since it is impossible for the workers in a mine or a mill to own individually the equipment they work with, and since the joint ownership of such equipment by the particular group of laborers who work with it would breed strife because of the power

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of certain strategically placed production groups to 'hold up' the rest of society, the communists saw no remedy for exploitation save the ownership of the instrumentalities of production by the community or nation. The communists aimed utterly to do away with our social system founded on private ownership of the means of production, and to rebuild society on the rugged principle, 'He that will not work, neither shall he eat.'"<sup>1</sup>

The communist went on to dream of a society wherein the needs of an entire nation would be budgeted carefully, just as we seek to budget our family needs. He believed it possible, through central direction, to organize the productive forces of the nation to produce commodities sufficient to meet the needs, and through a carefully worked out system of distribution to transport them to the places where they were needed. In a word, he hoped to eliminate the waste of our present competitive order; to produce goods to meet needs, not to make profits; to see that not only physical needs were met, but cultural needs as well. But the dangers resulting from high centralization and bureaucracy, the inefficiency, the refusal of an individualistically minded peasant to produce goods under such a scheme, the lack of capital, and a score of other important factors seem

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<sup>1</sup> *Russian Soviet Republic*. Edward Alsworth Ross. Century Company, New York. 1923.

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to have been obstacles treated too lightly by the dogmatic communist. John Maynard Keynes has referred to the economic program of communism as "outworn economics." In Russia itself there has been a return to capitalistic methods of production, though this is called a temporary retreat by the leaders, and the government is still controlled by the workers. The young American must evaluate the economics of communism critically, not forgetting that the scheme of a "directed" industrial policy, the budgeting of national needs, and similar economic policies have been suggested by not a few of our engineering experts.

One may sympathize with an ideal and still reject the program calculated to achieve it; one must also examine the method advocated to attain the ideal. It is only fair to face the conditions that have produced reliance upon the method advocated by the communist, but even so, the method must be evaluated critically. The communist relies upon the use of the force method. He calls it dictatorship. Here it is in his own words: "For the realization of the communist system the proletariat must have all authority and all power in its hands . . . the bourgeoisie will not abandon its position without a fight . . . it follows that the principal task of the workers' government is to crush out this opposition ruthlessly . . . there can be no talk of 'free-



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dom' for everyone. The dictatorship of the proletariat is incompatible with freedom for the bourgeoisie . . . in extreme cases the workers' government must not hesitate to use the method of terror . . . the dictatorship of the proletariat is not only an instrument for the crushing of enemies, it is likewise a lever for effecting economic transformation . . . the bourgeoisie must be 'expropriated.' . . . Why, indeed, do we need the dictatorship? . . . We need it that we may crush the enemies of the proletariat by force. . . . An epoch of proletarian dictatorship must inevitably intervene between a capitalist and a communist society."<sup>1</sup>

Another movement, different from communism but like it in accepting the idea that the end justifies the means and in deliberately repudiating democracy, is known as fascism. Some people have glorified fascism without studying its fundamental tenets. They have noted certain advances made by Italy under the sway of fascism, but have failed to consider the nature of the movement and its menace for the future. Others who have studied it argue that both fascism and communism are forces of great power and that these forces are rushing towards conflict, and they turn to fascism as the most effective

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<sup>1</sup> *The A-B-C of Communism*. N. Buharin and E. Preobrazhensky. English edition published by Communist Party of Great Britain, 1922. Pp. 81-83.

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antagonist of communism and thus support it regardless of its nature. Youth should note the sinister methods common to both communism and fascism. Both ridicule the assumption that through representative government and the use of the methods of education and the ballot we can rebuild society a little nearer to the heart's desire. Both are foes of the American method of adaptation, the American method of democratic control, and the American faith in the people. The line of development for us in America is neither fascism nor communism, but rather the extension of the existing system of political democracy into the industrial realm and the development of faith in the orderly processes of democratic advance.

Followers of Jesus must repudiate violent methods. They deny the principles taught by the Master. But the young American must face the question, why have large numbers lost faith in the method of persuasion by education, the working out of changes politically? In the long run is there any other way to effect real progress except by the method that is in harmony with Jesus' attitude? This would mean that in the spirit of love, through the method of education, we should work for the enlightenment of the majority, and then, through the use of democratic institutions, in a peaceful manner, make the changes in industry essential to a better society.

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Within the range of this book could be indicated only a few of the proposed roads to this better society. For instance, one of the most significant of these endeavors is that known as the consumers' cooperative movement. Groups of consumers have associated themselves for the purpose of purchasing goods at wholesale prices and distributing them to their members at great savings. The plan eliminates many middlemen and thus effects large economies, which of course means that the purchasing dollar of the member of a cooperative society buys more than that of a non-member. It is a movement of major importance, and its history from the simple beginnings in England to its present power in Denmark, England, and other lands, should be a part of the study of a student seeking an answer to the industrial question. *The Consumers' Cooperative Movement*,<sup>1</sup> written by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, recounts its history and states its underlying philosophy and tactics.

In addition there is the proposal of the philosophical anarchist, argued by Kropotkin in his article in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. The anarchist of this school holds that mankind will never reach its fullest development until the compulsions of state, of church, and of society are withdrawn; that the

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<sup>1</sup> *The Consumers' Cooperative Movement*. Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Longmans, Green and Company, New York. 1921.

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individual must be free to enter voluntarily into whatever association for desired ends he may choose, and conversely must be free to withdraw when he desires. To achieve freedom, therefore, and to develop personality the anarchist would abolish all organized compulsion. It is exceedingly difficult to see how the complex order of the hour, possessed of tremendous benefits to mankind, could be maintained without the compulsion represented by government, church, management, society, and the like; but the student who is in earnest and who is seeking light wherever it may fall, will consider seemingly impossible proposals, lest by any chance he miss a constructive suggestion.

### THE CHURCH AND THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM

The young American who is thinking in Christian terms asks, "What is the church doing relative to this industrial problem?"

In addition to the educational program wherein the church is firing its youth with the ideals of social justice, it is sending forth men who are proclaiming the urgency of the ideals of the Kingdom of God in the industrial world. This movement has been made articulate in a statement issued by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It is called "The Social Ideals of the Churches." We reproduce it here as follows:

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The churches stand for:

Equal rights and justice for all men in all stations of life.

Protection of the family by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, proper housing.

The fullest possible development of every child, especially by the provision of education and recreation.

Abolition of child labor.

Such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

Abatement and prevention of poverty.

Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic and moral waste of the liquor traffic.

Conservation of health.

Protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases and mortality.

The right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.

Suitable provision for the old age of the workers and for those incapacitated by injury.

The right of employees and employers alike to organize; and for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

Release from employment one day in seven.

Gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to

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the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.

A new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

Do you find any ideal among those stated that is not in accord with the ideals of Jesus? What can you think of that might be added? Do you think that churches really do stand for these propositions?

The question often arises whether the church has any right to take sides in the industrial struggle. This is something that should be clearly understood. It is not a matter of taking sides, it is a matter of discovering justice. The church must always be upon the side of justice. We face, therefore, the task of scientific inquiry into industrial conditions and attitudes, and the constructive problem of removing those which are unjust and putting in their place those which are just. The standard for us of what is or is not just is of course the Christian standard.

We have seen that there is an industrial problem, that it has sprung from the spiritual demand of mankind for abundant life. This demand has focused attention upon our industrial order, which is organized around three principles at variance with Chris-

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tianity: the acquisitive motive, the autocratic spirit, and a philosophy of materialism. We have noted that groups in every country in the world are thinking in terms of industrial freedom. We have tried to point out that the student should seek to understand these groups and evaluate them in the light of the program of the Kingdom of God. We have noted too that the church is already beginning to speak, and that there is a clarion call for young men and women with courage to undertake the solution of this tremendous issue.

Churchmen who have laid hold upon the basic social principles of Jesus and have faced the industrial problem have asked, "What would an ideal industrial order be like?" In *The Church and Industrial Reconstruction* these men declare: "It would be a cooperative social order in which the sacredness of every life was recognized and everyone found opportunity for the fullest self-expression of which he was capable; in which each individual gave himself gladly and whole-heartedly for ends that are socially valuable; in which the impulses to service and to creative action would be stronger than the acquisitive impulses, and all work be seen in terms of its spiritual significance as making possible fullness of life for all men; in which differences of talents and capacity meant proportional responsibilities and ministry to the common good; in which all lesser



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differences of race, of nation, and of class served to minister to the richness of an all-inclusive brotherhood; in which there hovered over all a sense of the reality of the Christlike God, so that worship inspired service, as service expressed brotherhood."

Is this a realizable ideal? What are you actually doing to further its realization?

The Board of Temperance and Social Welfare of the Disciples of Christ of America has said, "The industrial world is the focal center of modern social problems. Men spend six of the seven days of every week at work; can the world's work be done under Christianized realizations? The church is the greatest organized moral force in the world. Will it so inject its gospel of peace and good-will into industrial relationships as to bring peace and brotherhood there?"

## CHAPTER V

### THAT BROTHERHOOD MAY PREVAIL

**T**HE width of the continent lies between International House in New York and the Church of All Nations in Los Angeles. Both institutions are expressions of the spirit of the new home missions as it seeks to aid in the solution of the racial problem. If lines were drawn from New York to Chicago or to New Orleans, and from each of the latter cities to the Pacific coast, along their course would be found scores of institutions motivated by a similar spirit, seeking to share with all peoples the values that lie in fellowship with Christ. It is believed by the leaders of these institutions that the answer to the difficult question of how we may live together racially, lies in this simple procedure of associating with one another in the spirit of Jesus.

I shall not soon forget my first visit to International House. I had stopped at Columbia University for a moment to visit a graduate student who was a former student of my own, and since it was the noon hour, she suggested that we go to International House for luncheon.

I pictured a settlement house of some kind, located

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in a foreign community, and since my time was limited, replied that I would be happy to lunch there if it were not too far away.

"It is just around the corner," came the answer. "I will tell you about it as we walk along. You see, it all grew out of the idea of friendship extended to a lonely foreign student by an American. He sensed the value of widening such opportunities for friendship, and after a time a Cosmopolitan Club was organized. To it came students from different lands and from many races. They learned to understand each other, to share their respective cultures, and themselves developed a richer life to share among their own people upon their return home. Naturally, wherever they went they carried a message of good-will."

The idea was not new to me, and I wondered a bit at such enthusiasm. The young woman went on to tell of the development of the club, stopping almost in the middle of a sentence to say, "There it is! Now what do you think of our International House?"

I was amazed. Before me was a towering structure, architecturally attractive, and as large as a downtown hotel. I thought for a moment that she was jesting, and said, "Student attempts to bring about better understanding do not result in such magnificent buildings as this."

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She answered my argument quickly. "Yes, it did cost a lot of money; but a great Baptist layman, interested in solving the race problem and in developing a spirit of good-will among the peoples of the world, made a gift of two and a half million dollars, and so we have our International House. There are nearly a thousand student members; you will find every sort of facility for conferences, social life, and study in that building. There is a splendid auditorium, a gymnasium, a large dining-hall, and five hundred dormitory rooms."

By this time we had entered the building, over the main entrance of which is the inscription, "That brotherhood may prevail." In the beautiful reception room were scores of students. The first man I saw was an Indian whom I had met in Lucknow. He was chatting with a group in which there were a Japanese and an American Negro. In the dining-room downstairs were more students from every part of the world. It was indeed a token of a better day, and suggestive too of the method of the new home missions as it attacks this basic problem.

We cannot visit all the centers, schools, and churches throughout the wide expanse of the American continent, but we know there are literally hundreds of such enterprises. The young American will find it profitable to communicate with those in his own church who are charged with the task of home

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missions, secure a list of these endeavors, and appropriate the benefits of their spirit and their methods of work.

### A NEW MINISTRY TO FOREIGN-SPEAKING PEOPLES

In the city of Los Angeles one of the great Protestant denominations, driven by the new missionary urge, has built the Church of All Nations, located in a congested section a few blocks from the center of the city. Sixty thousand people live in the crowded habitations surrounding its buildings. Here the people of many countries have come. There are forty-two nationalities living about this church, whence it is called the Church of All Nations. If you walk east upon Sixth Street you find its buildings at the corner of Gladys Avenue. Bronze tablets upon the walls indicate the spirit dominating the institution, and reveal the heart of the new home missions. Upon the Boys Club building, where hundreds of boys of every nationality congregate, is a tablet that reads:

THE ALL NATIONS BOYS CLUB

THAT THE BOYS OF EVERY NATION

MAY GROW IN WISDOM AND

IN STATURE AND IN FAVOR

WITH GOD AND MAN AS DID

THE CARPENTER BOY OF NAZARETH

THIS BUILDING WAS DEDICATED

JANUARY 17, 1927.

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The service of this institution has so transformed the boy life of that section that its juvenile delinquency rate, once the highest in the city, has fallen to the average for the city at large. Upon the near-by community house a tablet reads:

### THE ALL NATIONS COMMUNITY HOUSE DEDICATED

TO THE SERVICE OF MEN, WOMEN  
AND CHILDREN OF EVERY NATION,  
TO THE TRUTH THAT SHALL  
ULTIMATELY FREE MANKIND,  
TO THE FAITH THAT RESTS IN  
THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD AND  
THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN.

Within this structure the educational activities, the children's department, the nursery, and the girls' clubs are housed. Between these buildings is the chapel. Here may be found a tablet reading:

### THE CHURCH OF ALL NATIONS FOUNDED OCTOBER NINTH, 1917

"GO YE THEREFORE AND TEACH ALL NATIONS  
. . . TO OBSERVE ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER  
EVER I HAVE COMMANDED YOU."

Near by is the clinic building where twenty thousand patients a year are treated. These people are of every race, and find in the service of the clinic a spirit which reveals the love that is basic in solving

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the racial problem. The clinic motto is found in a statement of Louis Pasteur: "We do not ask a sufferer, 'What is your country or your religion?' We say, 'It is enough that you are suffering. You belong to me and I will care for you.'"

It is impossible to describe the activities of this institution except to say that the gifts that made it possible have come from poor and wealthy alike, that students from the universities of the vicinity work in its field, that the representatives of scores of nationalities mingle in fellowship within its walls, and that it reveals in fact the new home missions successfully at work on one of the greatest of problems.

### RACIAL PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD TODAY

There are some Americans who think of the racial problem in terms of the Negro or the Oriental, but the racial question is infinitely larger than that. Of it H. G. Wells declares: "I am convinced myself that there is no more evil thing in this present world than race prejudice; none at all. I write deliberately—it is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty, and abomination than any other sort of error in the world." The yellow races, the brown, the black, the red, are rapidly coming to definite self-consciousness. Approximately a third of the world population is white, nearly a third is yellow, and a little more than a



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third is black or brown. This means that there are two colored persons for every white person. The question we face this hour is whether or not, in the light of Christ's teachings which reveal a common Father and declare that all are brothers, we can work out this racial problem in conference and good-will, removing thus the danger of conflict.

There is a school of amateur anthropologists in America who, in flaming scareheads, picture the rise of the colored races and the eventual extermination of the white peoples. They have gone so far as to insist upon the supremacy of a small section of the white race, and to urge its development for the purpose of assuring its rule of the world. They insist upon "Nordic race superiority." This school is composed of men whom President Glenn Frank, of the University of Wisconsin, sarcastically calls "facile journalistic camp followers" of the real scientists, and are not to be taken seriously by any student. In the approach to the racial problem the young American must turn to the responsible inquirers in the field and beware of these pseudo-sociologists. By what scientific evidence do you justify the assumption that you belong to the superior group? What are the contributions to American life that have been made by the Negro, the Japanese, the Italian, the Jew, and the other racial groups?

If the young American is willing to come squarely

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into contact with this racial problem, he must study the mind of those races which are calling for justice and freedom. We so easily assume that we are "the" people and belong to an inherently superior race, that it becomes difficult for us to understand the mind of the Indian, which is as convinced of Indian supremacy as we are of Anglo-Saxon. Perhaps no better idea can be given of the aspiration impelling the race movements than is set forth in the action passed by the Pan-African Conference in London in 1921. It reads:

The absolute equality of races, physical, political and social, is the founding stone of world peace and human advancement. No one denies great differences of gift, capacity and attainment among individuals of all races, but the voices of science and religion and practical politics are one in denying the God-appointed existence of super-races, or of races naturally and inevitably and eternally inferior.

Of all the various criteria by which masses of men have in the past been judged and classified, that of the color of the skin and texture of the hair is surely the most adventitious and idiotic. . . . The insidious and dishonorable propaganda which for selfish ends so distorts and denies facts as to represent the advancement and development of certain races of men as impossible and undesirable, should be met with widespread dissemination of the truth.

The demand for the interpenetration of countries and intermingling of blood has come in modern days from

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the white race alone and has been imposed on brown and black folks mainly by brute force and fraud; and on top of that the resulting people of mixed race have had to bear innuendo, persecution and insult, and the penetrated countries have been forced into semi-slavery. The suppressed races through their thinking intelligentsia are demanding:

1. The recognition of civilized men as civilized despite their race or color.

2. Local self-government for backward groups, deliberately rising as experience and knowledge grow to complete self-government under the limitations of a self-governed world.

3. Education in self-knowledge, in scientific truth, and in industrial technique, undivorced from the art of beauty.

4. Freedom in their own religion and custom and with the right to be non-conformist and different.

5. Cooperation with the rest of the world in government, industry and art on the basis of justice, freedom and peace.

6. The ancient common ownership of the land and its natural fruits and defense against the unrestrained greed of invested capital.

### AMERICA AND THE NEGRO

In 1920 there were 10,403,131 Negroes in the United States of America, all of them American citizens.

A prominent teacher asked a group of college students the startling question, "Which would you

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rather have been born, blind or black?" Think for a moment of the tragedy of being born blind, with the inability to walk without fear, to behold the beauties of the world, to catch the changing expression upon the faces of friends. Think of dwelling in perpetual darkness. On first thought one would instantly answer, "Black." But suppose we reflect on the way we treat the Negro. Perhaps then the answer will not be given with the same sureness. Some might prefer then to have been born blind. If you were forced to ride upon separate cars, if you were barred from concerts and lecture halls, unwelcome even in many churches, and compelled to hear constant reference to the fact that you belong to an inferior group, would you prefer being a Negro to being blind?

It was in 1619 that a Dutch trading vessel brought twenty slaves from the West Indies to the Virginia colony at Jamestown. During the century following, twenty-five thousand slaves were brought to America. By 1789 there were seven hundred thousand persons in slavery. There is no fouler blot upon our history than the story of the slave trade. Professor David S. Muzzey refers to its horrors, declaring:

"The slave hunters kidnapped the Negroes in Africa, chained them together in gangs, and packed them closely into the stifling holds of their narrow

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wooden ships, to suffer torments on the tropical voyage from the African coast to the West Indies. This awful journey was called the 'middle passage,' because it was the second leg of a triangular voyage from which the British and colonial captains derived large profits. They took rum from the New England distilleries to Africa to debauch the innocent natives, whom they seized and brought to the West Indies to exchange for sugar and for molasses, which went to New England to make more rum. So rum, Negroes, and molasses made the endless chain of this disgraceful traffic. The horrors of the middle passage moved the colonists at times to pass bills prohibiting the slave trade. But the British Crown vetoed the bills. We must remember in all our study and judgment of the problems which the presence of the Negro in the South has forced upon our country, that it was not so much the colonists as the merchants and traders and capitalists who were responsible for the slave traffic in the eighteenth century; and that the New England rum distillers were responsible for bringing thousands of Negroes from Africa to sell as slaves in the West Indies." And this historian points out that as early as 1715 the Negroes comprised twenty-five per cent of the population of the colonies south of the Potomac, in comparison with nine per cent in the middle colonies and less than three per cent in New England.

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We must not forget, however, even in the condemnation that falls upon us for our activities in human bondage, that there were brilliant patriots who fought the slave trade fiercely. Washington wrote to his secretary, Tobias Lear, that he was anxious to "dispose of a certain kind of property [Negro slaves] as soon as possible." Thomas Jefferson fought slavery with all the power of his democratic being. In his original draft of the Declaration of Independence he charged George III with encouraging the slave trade, referring to him as "violating the most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of distant people who never offended him, captivating them and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither."

Slavery was recognized by the Constitution, and the struggle over the political, economic, and social questions it presented was responsible for the steady agitation that led to the Civil War. Then came the Emancipation Proclamation; but the Emancipation Proclamation and the resulting amendments to the Constitution have both failed to give the Negro his rights as an American citizen. In many places he has been denied opportunities of education, of social development, of casting his vote, and many other rights of citizenship.

Governor Hugh M. Dorsey, of Georgia, on April

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22, 1921, made a statement to a conference of citizens of that state which dealt with these phases of the Negro problem: the Negro lynched; the Negro held in peonage; the Negro driven out by organized lawlessness; the Negro subject to individual acts of cruelty. The governor's statement cited one hundred and thirty-five cases of mistreatment of Negroes in Georgia and declared: "In some counties the Negro is being driven out as though he were a wild beast. In others no Negroes remain." In only two of the cases was the "usual crime against white women involved." The honest attempt of sincere Southerners and Negro leaders to face this problem in Georgia has shown itself in the 1927 statistics. This state, which had one of the worst records in the past, can report that in 1927 there was not a single case of mob violence within its borders. This does not mean that the problem in Georgia has been solved, but it does mean that the public mind can be disposed to other methods than hate and lawlessness.

The disregard of his legal rights and the resort to mob violence which have characterized our dealing with the Negro are revealed in the fact that between 1885 and 1922 we put to death more than four thousand Negroes by lynching, which is an average of two every week, or more than one hundred every year during those thirty-seven years. In 1922 there were fifty-seven lynchings; in 1923, thirty-three.



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There were sixteen in 1924 and 1925, and it appeared that lynching was upon its way to extinction. Unfortunately the 1926 record went up to thirty-four. The figures as published for 1927 give the number as twenty-one. That this problem is not limited to the Southern part of the country is shown by the fact that there are only four states in the Union which have not had a lynching in the last fifty years. Indeed, the economic pressure, which has developed a migration of Negroes to the North, has made of it a Northern problem also. We have had race riots in Saint Louis, Chicago, Omaha. A thoroughgoing study of the situation in Chicago was put out by the Chicago Commission on Race Relations under the title, *The Negro in Chicago*. After studying in detail the causes, the facts, and the results, this commission made many recommendations. The twenty-first recommendation, addressed primarily to social and civic organizations, labor unions and churches, pleads for the promotion of race harmony thus:

“Being convinced by our inquiry that much of the antagonism evinced in the areas of marked hostility toward Negroes is founded upon tradition which is itself without foundation in fact or justice, we recommend to schools, social centers and agencies, churches, labor unions and other organizations in these areas, and to public-spirited citizens, white and Negro, that

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they endeavor to dispel the false notions of each race about the other and promote mutual tolerance and friendliness between them. We recommend that both white and Negro churches seek and use means to improve race relations, and that these means include the finding of frequent occasions for having their congregations addressed by representatives of both races on the subject of race sympathy and tolerance."

The development of this spirit is essential to any solution of the race problem. A recent statement from a State Commission on Race Relations authorized by North Carolina women declares:

"We believe that unrest existing between two different races dwelling side by side under the same economic system and the same government can be lessened and eventually dispelled by a course of justice and fair play.

"We believe that every human being should be treated not as a means to another's end, but as a person whose aspiration toward self-realization must be recognized; that we must cherish racial integrity and racial self-respect, as well as such respect as will lead each to higher moral levels, to mutual trust and mutual helpfulness.

"No family and no race rises higher than its womanhood. Hence the intelligence of women must be cultivated and the purity and dignity of woman-

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hood must be protected by the maintenance of a single standard of morals for both races."

No doubt many young Americans have heard the Fisk Jubilee Singers sing the Negro melodies and spirituals. The leader of these famous musicians spoke for just a moment before the Los Angeles City Club prior to a concert, and pointing out the suffering of his people and the yearning of the Negro for a fuller life, said: "Nevertheless the Negro has never sung a song of hate. He has suffered, has sung of sadness and of joy, and has dreamed of a better land; but he has never sung of hatred." Have you caught the meaning of the sad line in "My Old Kentucky Home," where the suffering Negro sings, "A few more years for to tote the weary load"? There is something of terrible pathos in that sentence. To think that the fact that he was black forced him to believe that he must tote a weary load as long as he lived and that there was no possibility of having the load taken from him! Young Americans ought always to take pains to remember such a state of mind as they deal with Negroes who are in fact just "up from slavery."

But glance now at the Negro's economic, educational and religious record during the period of 1866 to 1922.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Table from *Christianity and the Race Problem*. J. H. Oldham. Doubleday, Doran and Company, Garden City, N. Y.

## THAT BROTHERHOOD MAY PREVAIL

	1866	1922	Gain
<b>ECONOMIC—</b>			
Homes Owned.....	12,000	650,000	638,000
Farms Operated.....	20,000	1,000,000	980,000
Businesses Conducted.	2,100	60,000	57,900
Wealth Accumulated.	\$20,000,000	\$1,500,000,000	\$1,480,000,000
<b>EDUCATIONAL—</b>			
Per Cent Literate....	10	80	70
Colleges and Normal Schools.....	15	500	485
Students in Public Schools.....	100,000	2,000,000	1,900,000
Teachers in All Schools	600	44,000	43,400
Property for Higher Education.....	\$60,000	\$30,000,000	\$29,940,000
Annual Expenditures for Education.....	\$700,000	\$28,000,000	\$27,300,000
Raised by Negroes...	\$80,000	\$2,000,000	\$1,920,000
<b>RELIGIOUS—</b>			
Number of Churches.	700	45,000	44,300
Number of Commu- nicants.....	600,000	4,800,000	4,200,000
Number of Sunday Schools.....	1,000	46,000	45,000
Sunday School Pupils.	50,000	2,250,000	2,200,000
Value of Church Prop- erty.....	\$1,500,000	\$90,000,000	\$88,500,000

If you had faced the limitations of slavery, the denial of equal opportunities following the Emancipation Proclamation, and the race antipathy that exists today, do you think you could have made a finer record than that of the Negro? Read B. G. Brawley's *A Short History of the American Negro*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*A Short History of the American Negro.* B. G. Brawley  
The Macmillan Company, New York. 1927.

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The young American owes it to himself to know the writings of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the editor of the *Crisis*. He ought of course to know the now almost traditional 'story of the life of Booker T. Washington, together with the work carried on at Tuskegee Institute by its present principal, Dr. R. R. Moton. Especially he ought to keep himself informed, which he can easily do through the newspapers and magazines, of the extraordinary progress of the Negro in music, in painting, in sculpture, in poetry, in prose, and in scholarship during the last few years, and how it has been recognized by critics and public, and by such awards as the Guggenheim fellowships. In a word, it is incumbent upon the young American facing the race problem to become acquainted with the data in the field. Not only must he have this intellectual attitude, but he must likewise share the personal sympathy of Jesus of Nazareth. He must remember that "God is color blind," and must be Christian enough to see in a man of any color a brother indeed.

## JEWISH NEIGHBORS

The problem of the Jew in America is also critical. There are more than 1,500,000 Jews in the city of New York, and between three and four million Jews in the United States of America. This means there are more Jews in New York than all the

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Jews in Germany, Great Britain, France, Holland, Palestine and South America put together. The next largest Jewish community in the world is the city of Warsaw, where there are between 300,000 and 330,000 Jews, or about one-fifth as many as in New York. It is generally thought that there are about fourteen million Jews in the world. If this be true, one out of every ten resides in New York City. How is the Jewish problem to be handled? Does it become the young American to insist upon a so-called race supremacy and develop agitations against the Jew, which in history have always led to frightful persecution? What are the contributions of the Jewish people to mankind? When you attack the Jew in general, are you willing to name Jesus and the Apostles in particular? What contribution has he made to the cultural and religious life of the community?

### COOPERATION OR CONFLICT?

In 1902 James Bryce delivered at Oxford University, in the Romanes lecture, the title of which was "The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind," a superb summary of the factors present in the contacts of races. He states:

"The races of mankind have been and are being reduced in number by extinction, by absorption, and by admixture. The races that remain, fewer in num-

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bers, but nearly every one of them larger, are being brought into a closer contact with one another, and the lower races are being raised in the arts of life, in knowledge, and in intelligence.

"The various races may, if friendly, help one another more than ever before, and so accelerate the progress of the world. But closer contact and the increase of population bring with them a more severe economic struggle for life between races. . . .

"What can be done to mitigate antagonism and to reduce the risks of collision? A larger philosophy may do much. A deeper and more earnest faith, which should strive to carry out in practice that sense of human brotherhood which Christianity inculcates, might do still more. . . .

"When we think of the problems which are now being raised by the contact of races, clouds seem to hang heavy on the horizon of the future; yet light streams in when we remember that the spirit in which civilized states are preparing to meet those problems is higher and purer than it was when, four centuries ago, the great outward movement of the European peoples began."

What can the church do to increase this sense of a common humanity? What are you yourself doing? Where?

There are several books that consider this theme. *Christianity and the Race Problem*, by J. H. Old-



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ham, is one of the very best. Mr. Oldham concludes that the basic causes of racial conflict are sociological rather than biological. He seeks to show that we are not necessarily dealing with an instinctive repulsion in the race question, but with a social problem resulting from social causes. However, a feeling of antipathy toward a person of different race may be developed so strongly that it has all the force of instinctive action. He shows us that the term race is vague, that there are no pure strains, that there has been constant intermingling of types, and that our problem is not one of specific races but of "peoples, that is, actual groups occupying definite geographical areas."

This brilliant author notes that many peoples have believed themselves superior: witness the Chinese, the Jew, the Japanese, the German, the American. He sums up as follows: "All men are certainly not equal in native capacity, and the distribution of particular qualities in different races may vary. But in the present state of our knowledge we have no means of determining how far observable differences are innate or how far they are due to native capacity being stimulated or hindered by circumstances. . . . The only honest verdict is that, while races presumably do differ in native capacity, how they differ and to what extent we do not know." While he recognizes the fact of inequality, he stresses the

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essential equality that inheres in humanity itself. We have a common nature that is deeper than differences between individuals and races. Anthropologists have made it certain that the basal qualities of the human mind are the same among all peoples.

Mr. Oldham recognizes the right of a people to protect itself from economic undercutting by a people of lower living standards, but shows that all legislation affecting other nations must recognize their right to be respected. We ought, therefore, to work out these problems mutually, develop reasonable arrangements, and cooperate in their enforcement. Slapping a proud people in the face by passing an Immigration Act that gives worldwide publicity to the fact that we think them inferior, is not the way to deal with the racial difficulty, even economically. The questions of intermarriage, social equality, and the demand for political equality are also considered by Mr. Oldham, and the practical steps that are possible at the present. We are urged to have our minds converted, to possess the mind of Christ. Granted this change from within, progress in interracial cooperation may be expected to follow.

Study the results of the work of the Commission on International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; the surveys conducted by the Institute of Social and Reli-

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gious Research; the splendid work that has been done by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Raymond Leslie Buell's *International Relations* has a concise consideration of the race problem in chapters three and four, and *The Inquiry* has published two excellent discussion outlines, one entitled *And Who Is My Neighbor?* and the other *All Colors*.<sup>1</sup> These books seek to confront the reader with definite race problems, then ask pertinent questions and suggest lines of research. As illustrative of the questions, the following two groups are typical. The first group is found in *And Who Is My Neighbor?*:

"What are the major ways in which an insufficient or faulty knowledge of other races can be corrected?

"Is personal contact essential to correct knowledge of other peoples? Does it always make for correct information?

"Is the antipathy of white for colored persons instinctive? Is there a similar revulsion of colored for white persons?

"Is repugnance for color ever isolated from other possible causes of repugnance, such as differences in status, habits, language, etc.?

"Select one or two racial group contacts which give unpleasant feelings to some and not to others. Find the reasons for this difference in feeling."

In *All Colors* certain penetrating questions are

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<sup>1</sup> Distributed by Association Press, New York.

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raised relative to the ways in which the church and religious organizations touch the race problem. Test your own church by the questions.

"What are some of the special opportunities of contacts under religious auspices for interracial understanding?"

"What are some of the special difficulties of practising in and through such contacts the religious principles taught?"

"How far must a religious organization go to satisfy the prevailing public opinion in the community in these matters?"

"What would you include in a set of minimum demands upon a church or religious association as regards relations between their members with those of other races?"

"In what situations, or in regard to what races, would normal standards of conduct toward members of racially different groups not apply?"

The work of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has revealed both the method and the spirit essential to the task. This work was organized in 1918 with the object of studying the Negro problem and of discovering what the Negro wanted. This objective was expanded, and the Commission sought to agree upon a minimum program behind which intelligent white people might be rallied; to line up white people in support of this program; to enlist in

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its support the leaders of the Negro race; to take the necessary steps to make the program effective; and to secure cooperation on the part of all agencies working on this field and render assistance to them in the interests of better team work and avoidance of duplication. Mr. Oldham summarizes the work thus:

"The Commission includes white and Negro leaders chosen from thirteen Southern states. Among these are business men, university presidents, leading members of the bar, and leaders in the great denominations, as well as certain outstanding men who for years have given their lives to Negro work. It was recognized that nothing substantial can be done for the improvement of conditions until the white people's leaders are won to the program. Therefore at first the Commission did not include Negroes, though these were called in for consultation. In February, 1920, it was decided by unanimous vote to invite representative leaders of the Negroes to be members of the Commission, and this was done.

"Strong state committees have been formed in each of the thirteen states. These state committees include outstanding leaders of both races. But the real foundation of the work is in the small inter-racial committees formed in more than eight hundred of the nearly thirteen hundred counties in the Southern states. Serving on these committees are the best

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white and Negro citizens, who have undertaken by conference and cooperation to correct injustices, to improve educational and living conditions, and work together by peaceful methods for justice and racial good-will. The significance of these committees can be understood only by those who know how wide a gulf has in the past existed between white and colored men, and how little they have understood or co-operated with one another.

"The paid officials of the Commission are one white man, one Negro, and one white woman, besides office staff. It is intended that there should be a minimum of one full-time interracial secretary from each of the two races in each of the thirteen states.

"In November, 1920, representative Southern women were added to the Commission. The active cooperation of women is one of the most important and encouraging features of the movement. It often happens that the attitude of women is one of the chief obstacles to good relations between races. The remarkable interest shown by American women in the improvement of racial relations gives promise of a real advance."

Is there a greater home mission task than that of Christianizing our race relationships? Are you familiar with the situation in Hawaii, where practically all the races meet? What have our missions learned from this experimental field? In your local church,



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have you faced a race situation? How was it solved?] In a Massachusetts town, a church planning for its Christmas exercises faces this situation: The Armenians have moved into the community. The white families have moved away. A large number of white adults remain, however. It is "their" church. The Armenians, "Christian" and not black, have sent their children to the Sunday school. The children are beginning to join the church, and some of their parents are joining. The white Americans say they don't want these people in their church, and won't sit beside them or behind them. They have voted to keep "these people" out of certain rooms. Yet this same church sent money to Armenians in the Orient to care for refugees. Is it true that too much of our religion is "by proxy, too little by proximity"? In a western metropolis the Y. M. C. A. bars Japanese from its dormitories. When the Japanese president of the Tokyo Y. M. C. A. comes to America and seeks a room in the dormitory, what will happen?

Is not the place to attack the race problem right at home, first by studying our own minds, uprooting prejudice, and seeking to develop the attitude necessary to cooperation? And then, is it not the duty of young Americans, Christians, to work out practical steps whereby understanding may grow, contacts of friendship increase, and the fine art of living together emerge?



## CHAPTER VI

### AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

“**D**O you want a guide, mister?”

“No, I think not; I think I can find my way about.”

“There are lots of places visitors can miss,” he argued.

I liked the bright-faced youngster and changed my mind. He was a licensed guide, he said, having passed an examination to win that distinction. I soon learned that the schools in the vicinity of Concord and Lexington “license” students who master the events of the Revolution which center in these towns, and who are able to tell the story to visitors.

The little fellow marched us to a particular spot, told us to stand still, and that he would explain the Battle of Concord Bridge. “The farmers assembled across the river. The British were right here.” Before long we were living anew the events of those crucial hours. We crossed the stream and stood before the Battle Monument, which bears Emerson’s immortal lines:

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,  
Their flag to April’s breeze unfurled,

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Here once the embattled farmers stood  
And fired the shot heard round the world.

Recrossing the stream, we stopped for a moment beside the grave of the British soldiers who fell at Concord. Their resting place is marked by a simple stone upon which is carved the significant inscription:

They came three thousand miles and died  
To keep the past upon its throne;  
Unheard beyond the ocean tide,  
Their English mother made her moan.

Our guide became a bit confidential. Said he, "Gee, but it must have been great to live in those days!"

Little did he realize that down the centuries there has been an age-long struggle between the forces that would "keep the past upon its throne" and the rising powers that would fire "the shot heard round the world." It was impossible to make that lad believe that he lives in a day as thrilling as, probably more thrilling than, the day of the Revolution. The world waits on edge for ideas that will be heard round the world, ideas that will solve the problems of national and international relationships, ideas that will conserve the best that the ages have produced, but that will remove the past from the throne and make it a servant of the present. Youth envisions a

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new America, a land wherein the ideals of Jesus of Nazareth shall have become the ruling forces in the activities of its people. Such a dream will not come true unless the rising generation highly resolves to face bewildering and difficult conditions, and, relying upon peaceful and orderly procedure, to apply the method of education to transform the America of the hour into the America of our dreams.

### OUR HERITAGE

It is indeed a rich heritage the forefathers bequeathed us. The American youth should possess a full appreciation of the governmental form and institutions which they set up. He will find that in drafting the Constitution they gave a whole people one of the greatest single advances in the achievement of political liberty. A review of the founding of our nation will bring back the story of the Revolutionary War, the sacrifice of the founders who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to the cause; the tragic days of the attempted government under the Articles of Confederation; and the growing demand of the saner statesmen for some form of "more perfect union." But no appreciation of the past must blind any of us to the wrongs of the present. After full recognition of the worth of the Constitution, and of the marvelous advance in material prosperity and in the establishment of democratic

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institutions during the nearly one hundred and forty years of constitutional government, and after affirming the deepest loyalty to the American commonwealth, the youth who seeks to bring to mankind "America the Beautiful" must nevertheless, in the spirit of inquiry that has characterized all search for truth, perceive the evils as well as the benefits of our present state of society, and attack them in the light of fuller and richer living for all.

### SOME MAJOR QUESTIONS

First, if peaceful progress is to be assured, is it not necessary to adapt governmental forms to changed social conditions, just as it has become necessary to alter the width and the free use of streets because of changed traffic resulting from the invention of the automobile?

Second, if democratic advance in the interest of all the people is to be achieved, is it not necessary to remove forever the control which it is now possible for powerful financial interests to exercise over government, the press, the law, and even the public conscience, as has been shamefully evidenced in the national scandal of Teapot Dome?

Third, if reasonable solutions are to be found, and the scientific and peaceful method pursued, is it not necessary that the civil liberties known as free speech, free press, and free assemblage be maintained?

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Fourth, if a new spirit is to actuate the affairs of men, is it not imperative that a new conception of home missions take hold of the mind of Christian youth, wherein the eternal values found in the teaching of Jesus and incarnate in his life become the possession of all and the ruling principles of social conduct?

### ADAPTING GOVERNMENTAL FORMS TO A CHANGED DAY

A large high school in the Middle West decided to refer problems of student discipline to the students themselves. A constitution was drawn and the principles that were to govern student handling of discipline were set forth. This proved successful and as a result the school authorities, as well as the students themselves, were eager to introduce complete student self-government into the school. This involved certain changes in the first constitution in order to meet the obligations the students had undertaken. Later on, it was determined to turn the management of athletics over to the students. Once again the constitution had to be modified. It must be self-evident that had it been impossible to change the constitution, and thus meet new conditions, either the new responsibilities could not have been undertaken, or, if they had been undertaken, the constitution would have been nullified.

It ought to be equally clear that governmental

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forms should be kept sufficiently dynamic so that constructive adjustments to a rapidly changing day may be made with reasonable safety. Unfortunately at the present time there are reactionary forces in the United States that do not stand for this idea of adjustment, but rather regard the Constitution as having been fixed and interpreted once for all, and any proposal to change it as a form of disloyalty. In spite of their determined use of "true American" and "one hundred per cent American," these individuals and organizations do not represent the spirit of the forefathers, who, judging by the record, would be the very first to insist upon adapting the laws to existing conditions. The Constitutional Fathers were practical men, interested in living ideals, not in fixed phrases and unalterable forms.

Ours is a new day. The United States of 1789 is in no sense comparable with the United States of our day. At that time there was a free population of 3,200,000, and 700,000 slaves. The total population of the nation was less than the present population of New York City. Philadelphia had 42,000, New York 32,000, Boston, Charleston and Baltimore had just passed the 10,000 mark. The census of 1790 estimated that there were but 109,000 Americans west of the Allegheny Mountains. In those days over ninety per cent of the people were agriculturists. Shipping and fishing were the only indus-

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tries of importance, and manufacturing had hardly begun. Today the United States is a nation of 110,000,000 people, a land of vast territory, the wealthiest nation of the world, in fact an entirely different nation from that of the revolutionary and constitutional days. Surely it must be evident that such marvelous changes will have produced problems that cannot be solved by the remedies of yesterday, but which call for new pioneers and new statesmen to bring as valuable solutions to today as the forefathers brought to yesterday.

Does it seem strange that of all the self-governing nations that emerged from the World War, not one fashioned its constitution after that of the United States? Each one rejected congressional government in favor of parliamentary government. Is this due to the fact that our government was so framed by its founders that it could not respond immediately to public opinion? That the founders had this possibility in mind is seen in the senatorial provision that only one-third of the Senate is to go out every two years; a provision which means that two-thirds of a Senate elected prior to any reform movement will remain on two years after the movement may have expressed itself in the removal of the other third. Today we insist that government be flexible, responsive to the will of the people. Our government has been forced to undertake activities never dreamed of by



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the forefathers. A Panama Canal has been built, gigantic industries have been regulated, a reclamation service started, the care of the forests demanded, a Federal Reserve System of banking operated, and complex post office enterprises necessarily undertaken.

The late Frank I. Cobb, for many years chief editorial writer of the *New York World*, writing in *Harper's Magazine* on the theme, "Is Our Democracy Stagnant," declared: "The American people were never so critical of their government as they are now. They were never so cynical about their government. They rail at the politicians, they jeer at Congress, they blackguard the President whoever he happens to be, but they never stop to inquire whether their government was established to meet the demands they are making on it. If they did, they would be obliged to admit that it was not. They ask a rigid, inflexible government to function as a responsive and flexible government. They ask a government of checks and balances to function as a political manifestation of democracy. They ask a government of coordinate and independent branches to function as a unit. It cannot be done. In spite of all their ardent devotion to the Constitution, it is apparent that they know little about the Constitution. They have turned it into a fetish and they burn a vast quantity of incense before it, but they have forgotten

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its origin and have lost contact with its purposes. What they think it is, or what they think it must be, is something that it was never intended to be, and can never be made to be, except by a process of almost revolutionary revision."<sup>1</sup>

### CONTROL OF GOVERNMENT, LAW, AND PRESS BY SELFISH INTERESTS

"They wanted to elect a Mexican, but we stopped that," the speaker said. "What do you mean by 'we'?" I replied. "Well, you see it's this way. The R. O. T. C. runs the school, and we didn't propose to have a 'cholo' for the vice-president of our student body." This was a young man who had just graduated from a Pacific Coast high school. He had won a commission and reflected the attitude found in not a few centers where the Reserve Officers Training Corps is strong. In this school the officers had assumed something of the caste attitude seen in the militarists of pre-war Europe. They ate at a separate table in the school dining-hall, and arrogated unto themselves the right to rule school politics. In this case the students as a whole admired the Mexican lad, and had it not been for the attack of the clique he might have been elected.

Within a few weeks of this conversation I learned

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<sup>1</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1923. Quoted by permission.

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of a similar incident. A great high school had a tradition that its best scholar was to be chosen as valedictorian of his class. A Japanese had proved himself the honor student, but he did not deliver the valedictory address. The reason lay in a statement from the vice-principal of the school, who said, "It was fearfully embarrassing, but we simply could not have a Japanese give that address." These sad situations are offset by their opposites in many a school where principal and students, loyal to the spirit of America, insist that no group shall control the politics of the school, and that honor shall go to whom honor is due. In Los Angeles I heard a Japanese boy give one of the valedictory addresses at the commencement exercises of the Polytechnic High School, and a Mexican lad and an Italian girl deliver similar addresses at the Manual Arts High School.

If control by prejudice be un-American in the high school, think of the greater danger that lies in the attempt of prejudiced groups to run the government of the state and of the nation. The extent of their control was revealed in the recent oil scandals. It was proved in the investigations of the money trust in Roosevelt's day. It was told by Woodrow Wilson in *The New Freedom*. If America is to become "America the Beautiful," the day must dawn when no section of it can secure special privilege from gov-

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ernment. It must be remembered that it makes no difference what that section is: whether it is a financial group known as Wall Street, whether it is a labor group of conservative tendencies, like the American Federation of Labor, or one of communist leanings; whether it is a church group or a school body, a Ku Klux Klan or the Knights of Columbus; the government must be kept of the people, by the people, and for the people.

What can we do about it? The young American must begin by purging of sinister influence the social group to which he belongs. He must look to his own community. Is there a person in your town who is called the "political boss"? For whom does he do his bossing? Some years ago a political boss in San Francisco was sent to the penitentiary, convicted of bribing government officials. But for whom did he bribe? Back of him were the street railways desiring certain franchises, a telephone company interested in blocking a competitor, and financial institutions interested in keeping gas rates at a certain figure so that the securities they held might not depreciate in value: selfish groups, bent upon securing their desires regardless of the welfare of the community. Does such control exist in your town today? Do not look for old-fashioned bribery. That is too crude. Instead these interests now control newspapers and maintain "departments of public relations" to popu-

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larize their point of view. They organize a "people's protective league," and get uninformed people to vote their programs. They elect "their" men to office. Study your community. Talk over these matters with your teacher of civics, and then face the fact that a Christian dare not rest until he has made the teachings of Jesus dominant in his own life and regnant in the community.

### THE QUESTION OF THE PRESS

"Coal Miners Strike for Five-Day Week!" This was the headline that was carried to thousands of people relative to a recent disturbance in the coal industry. The news article bore the same suggestion. It was an accurate statement, but it did not tell the truth. As a matter of fact, the miners had been working on the average of two days a week. This was due to poor business organization upon the part of the owners, and to the fact that there were too many men in the industry. The men were striking to force some kind of reorganization whereby they might have the privilege of working five days in every week, and thus earn enough to support their families. But the public was led to believe that they wanted a shorter week, and a five-day week seemed unreasonable. Study the press and note the control exercised by the influence of great corporations, financial interests, and the like.

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What is beneath all this? Too much of our press is no longer dedicated to the collection and distribution of news. It has become a propagandist for the status quo, or, conversely, an advocate of radical panaceas, and as either equally inaccurate. Moreover, as a commercial venture, it often deliberately falsifies, distorts, or suppresses news which may be unwelcome to its advertisers or readers upon whom it depends for support. As a propaganda organization the press often takes a partisan stand on political and industrial issues, as evidenced by the steady distortion of news relative to industrial disputes, domestic policies, and international affairs. Here is a problem calling for the highest intelligence. The young American must learn to distinguish those sections of the press that seek to maintain high journalistic standards. In the complex life of our day it is by no means an easy thing for a newspaper to face the keen competition inherent in commercial enterprises and at the same time be consistently loyal to the ideals of public-spirited journalism.

Fortunately the young American of the churches has a tremendous weapon in his hands. The church possesses a press of its own which is a power in shaping the thought of large numbers and can set an excellent example to the lay press. Accuracy and fair play must especially characterize the journalistic endeavor of the church. Progress in such enterprises

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is seen in the work of the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. This department publishes a weekly information service which seeks to present the facts relative to the major issues facing the country. The different denominations have cooperated, and fact-finding and fact-publishing bodies are at work. The Disciples of Christ publish a booklet known as "Social Trends." The Methodist Federation for Social Service issues a monthly bulletin that deals with social issues and refers the reader to source material. One city federation of churches appointed a special industrial relations committee, charged with the duty of getting the facts regarding conditions and conflicts in industry and presenting their statements to all the preachers of the city, so that their communities might be accurately informed. Would it not be possible for your young people's organization to appoint such a committee, and thus bring accurate information before the young people of your church? Could you not make a study for one week of the newspapers read in your community, counting the columns devoted to foreign news, domestic news, scientific and cultural subjects, athletics, crime, scandal, etc., and then check up on the accuracy of the reporting? Such a study might result in the launching of a campaign for better papers in your town.



# YOUTH AND THE NEW AMERICA

## CONTROL OF THE LAW

One of the great professions open to young men and women is the law. The blighting hand of commercialism must be loosened from this profession. Special interests have sought to control legislation, but even more they have sought to build up precedents within the law that would protect such special interests in contradistinction to those of the public. This has been the more easy because legal precedent has so largely come down from an age when business was done by individuals. The application of legal principles that were ethically valid when business was done by individuals, has made it possible for unethical practices to be followed legally in an age when business is done by gigantic organizations. A prominent attorney has said, "Ours is the only country in which the protection of mere money interests takes precedence in importance over the defense of human life, liberty, and reputation." Here is a challenging field for men imbued with the ideals of Jesus. It is a field wherein the keenest of intellectual ability is essential, since the task is one of adapting the law to new social concepts while making proper provision for stability. Like the ancient prophets, the young lawyer must defend the rights of the needy and never bow the knee before insolent might. He must build up respect for law by making both the law and the

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profession worthy of respect. He will find within the ranks of this great calling splendid souls who will prove eager to join hands in a crusade that shall drive selfish interests from the courts and the halls of legislature.

Perhaps the young lawyers of the coming generation, like their forebears of the eighteenth century, may draft a new Declaration of Independence, bringing the tyranny of the twentieth century before the bar of public opinion. As Woodrow Wilson put it, "The tyranny of the hour is the control of law, of legislation, and adjudication by organizations which do not represent the people, by means which are private and selfish. It is the conduct of our affairs and the shaping of our legislation in the interest of special bodies of capital and those who organize their use. It is the alliance of political machines with selfish business. It is the exploitation of the people by legal and political means. It is a situation in which governments cease to be representative governments in truth, but become representative of special interests controlled by machines, which in their turn are not controlled by the people."

### OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES

Our forefathers believed in civil liberty so deeply that they wrote into the very Constitution guarantees in the matters of free speech, free press and free

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assemblage. Why are these liberties so essential? One answer is, how can you expect to get the truth unless there is full opportunity for all sides to be heard? What would you think of a judge who would say, "I'll hear this witness but I won't listen to that one; I don't like his looks"? Such an attitude would be absurd in the court room. Would it not be equally ridiculous in the laboratory? Suppose a chemistry professor were to say, "Do not argue. One element cannot be transformed into another. The elements are immutable." Suppose you were persistent and should declare, "But, professor, a great scientist has said that uranium has been turned into lead." If his reply was to tell you to keep still, he would be greeted by the derision of his students. No, the real scientist is eager for the truth, and always examines and reexamines the evidence carefully. Is it not absurd, then, to seek to shut off the opinions of people who honestly criticize our present political, industrial, and social assumptions? It may be there is truth in their criticisms and value in their suggestions.

Freedom is essential in the search for truth. It is imperative if we are to make necessary adaptations peacefully. If men believe they can present ideas, educate the people, and when they have persuaded a majority, enact their ideas through legislation, then their major endeavor will be spent in those fields.

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But when these avenues be closed they resort to other methods; in a word, they take to the rougher road of revolution. It is the denial of freedom that makes for revolution, not its practice. We have witnessed of late not a few very dangerous attempts to throttle free speech. We have seen blacklists that have been circulated by the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Better America Federation, the Key Men of America, and similar bodies, wherein an attempt has been made to deny some of America's most valuable citizens the privilege to speak in public, by the simple device of listing them as dangerous radicals. These lists have been circulated among business men, church leaders, club women, many of whom have been too busy to check up on the intelligence of the statements and have unfortunately acted upon them, thus becoming tools of those who wish but one side to any argument heard, and that side their own. A startling document indeed is that published by a number of the leading lawyers of the United States, among them Dr. Roscoe Pound, Dean of the Harvard Law School. It is entitled "Report Upon the Illegal Practices of the Department of Justice," and is replete with evidence of the denials of basic rights as guaranteed in the Constitution.

What can we do about it? We can ask our school leaders to see that we hear both sides of important

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questions. Why are United States Marines in Nicaragua? There are two sides to this issue. What are they? The government operated the railroads during the war. Was the experiment successful? One cannot answer until he has heard the railway owners' case, and has read also the side presented to a Senate committee by the men charged with the operation of the roads during the war. Has anyone been denied the right to speak in your school or church because someone said he was a "pacifist," a "radical," or a "reactionary"? Is it not an insult to a student's intelligence to assume that he cannot hear both sides of an argument and then draw his conclusions?

### THE YOUNG AMERICAN HIMSELF

But while the young American may resolve to bear his part in the adaptation of governmental forms to a changing day, in the banishment of selfish control over government, press, and law, and in the maintenance of civil liberties, there is a deeper matter at issue, and that has to do with himself. What kind of character must this crusader possess? What guarantee has the present generation that the young people will prove truer to noble ideals than former generations? By what token may we be assured that youth will not become a part of the self-interest group and strengthen their forces?

It has been the unfailing belief of the Christian

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church that loyalty to Christ himself is the strongest motivating force for righteousness in the world. Here is a person to whom one can honestly swear allegiance. He trod the earth long since, enlisting men in a mighty movement whose banners bore the words, "Follow me." It is the same command today, "Follow me." Modern youth replies, "Where? Why?" Note the way he trod.

The way is visible to this hour. It leads from a Bethlehem stable to a cross-crowned hill. Can you visualize the events of that day when Jesus left the little home in Nazareth? It was no easy thing to tear himself away from the little village, from the lovely mother with whom he had climbed the near-by hills, from the brothers and sisters whom he had helped support as a carpenter. But there had come to him the realization that he must give himself unstintedly in service to his fellows, a service wherein he sought to reveal God to men and men to each other as brothers. Picture his mother standing there in the doorway of the home, tears in her eyes, waving good-by to this strong son, who was willing to give up home, loved ones, everything, in the interest of a better world.

The weeks pass. We find a group of older folk gathered about him. He is teaching. Little children attempt to crowd their way to his feet. The older people, interrupted by the eager queries of the

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little ones, seek to take them from him. But he, seeing in the simplicity and trust of the child the perfect symbol, forbade them, saying, "Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." It is with this gentleness that we must deal with child life, if we would follow him.

Again we behold him. This time his eyes are flashing. He saves an unfortunate woman from a mob of hypocrites. The woman has committed sin and they are bent upon stoning her in accordance with the law. His words are biting: "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone." And here we find the attitude of sympathy and understanding that should rule us in our relations with all men.

There is the temple scene. He drives out those who profaned the temple court and made of it a trading mart. "Follow me." At times the whipcord must be knotted and the money changer driven forth. And in the Garden—he prayed, even as you and I. But if the cup must needs be drunk, he would steel his will until he possessed the courage to do the will of his Father, and drink it to its bitter end. If we follow him, we too must give that pledge, "Not my will but thine be done."

At last we behold a group of scoffing soldiers at their gruesome task. They are crucifying him. Per-



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haps a rough fellow shouted, "If you are God, why don't you come down?" They cast lots for his clothing. It was a morbid crowd that stood staring at the King of the Jews. In the midst of torture and heart-break, wondering whether his Father as well as his friends had forsaken him, a moment of triumph comes and he prays, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." It is this Jesus whom we would follow.

America will not become America the Beautiful until those who yearn for that day turn to the one who is altogether lovely and from him receive the power to become sons of God. It is for this reason that our churches persistently present the claims of Jesus. Loyalty to him demands that we relive in our day the life he lived in his day, that we share with others the glad news of his message which proclaims that all may follow his way of life, and that we lay hold upon the unfinished task of building the Kingdom of God upon the earth. This is the new home missions.

### THE NEW HOME MISSIONS

Because Jesus sought an ideal social order wherein as brothers men would strive to make life richer for all, the new home missions seeks "to give the gospel of Christ in all its fullness and the service of Christ in all its implications to those areas and those people

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who would not otherwise have such ministry." It seeks to solve the problems of "the crowded way," of the "haunts of wretchedness and need," of "man's burdened toil." It will not rest until the good news of Jesus is preached and practised, shared by its possessors, and at last appropriated by all.

The goal for us here in our own land is in large measure that of answering the prayers of that sublime hymn, "America the Beautiful." Katherine Lee Bates, who composed the hymn, dreamed of a new America.

She beheld its present beauties.

O beautiful for spacious skies,  
For amber waves of grain,  
For purple mountain majesties  
Above the fruited plain!

She gloried in its sublime past.

O beautiful for pilgrim feet,  
Whose stern, impassioned stress  
A thoroughfare for freedom beat  
Across the wilderness!

She gave thanks for its noble souls.

O beautiful for heroes proved  
In liberating strife,  
Who more than self their country loved,  
And mercy more than life!

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But she, like modern youth, dreamed of a new  
America:

O beautiful for patriot dream

That sees beyond the years

Thine alabaster cities gleam,

Undimmed by human tears!

It was in this spirit that she prayed:

America! America!

God mend thine every flaw,

Confirm thy soul in self-control,

Thy liberty in law!

America! America!

May God thy gold refine,

Till all success be nobleness,

And every gain divine!

America! America!

God shed his grace on thee,

And crown thy good with brotherhood

From sea to shining sea!

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